

SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS
UPON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE

War in Europe.

Transmitted in a

LETTER

FROM A

Foreign Minister lately residing at PARIS,

TO HIS

Friend in LONDON.

THE WHOLE

Containing a True and Impartial Account of all
the most Memorable Designs and Transactions
for Two Years last past, in the *Empire, Italy,*
Spain and the *Netherlands.*

WITH

Some Conjectures upon the Projects of the *French*
Court, for the next Campaign.

L O N D O N :

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COPIES OF THE REPORT

 SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS

UPON

The Present State of the War in *Europe*.

I AM very willing to gratifie your Curiosity, in imparting to you the true Sentiments of the Foreign Ministers, and other able Politicians, (belonging to Neuter Princes,) concerning the present State of the War, as far as I was able to learn by frequent Conversation and Conferences I had with them upon that Subject during my stay at *Paris*. I suppose you will easily agree with me in this Point; that, as their Presence and Station entitles them to a more exact Observation of the Transactions of the French Affairs, both at Court and in the Field, so as they stand Neuters in this War, their Judgments will pass for much more unbiass'd among the sensible part of Mankind, than the Sentiments of many others; who being blinded with Self-interest, and over-sway'd by Passion, for the Cause they are engag'd in, may consequently be less clear-sighted in Matters of this Nature.

The Fields of *Bleinheim* and *Hochstet*, near the Banks of the *Danube* O. in *Germany*, being the Theater where was acted that dreadful Tragedy which introduced the greatest Change of Affairs in *Europe*, and made this War appear with a quite different Face from what it did before; It is from the Designs of that Campaign I intend to date and draw the Scheme of our present Considerations on this War. It is very well known, that at the Conclusion of the preceding Campaign, the Elector of *Bavaria* (after having espoused the French Interest some time before) acted with so much Vigour and Success against the Imperialists, that he penetrated without any considerable Opposition into *Austria*, whilst at the same time the Malecontents of *Hungary* (who had taken up Arms against the Emperor) were carrying Rapine, Fire and Sword, to the very Gates of *Vienna*. These being most powerful Motives to push on their good Fortune upon the Enemy in the next Campaign, the Elector of *Bavaria* left nothing unattempted to make the French Court sensible of the great Probability of Success there was on that side, 1704.

which being somewhat check'd then, by nothing else but the badness of the far advanc'd Season, he remonstrated to them, that in case a sufficient Number of *French*, well disciplin'd Troops, could be sent early in the Spring, to act in Conjunction with his own, and the other Auxiliary French Troops sent to his assistance before, they might in all humane Probability penetrate so far into the Emperor's Hereditary Dominions, as to act in Concert at least, if not in Conjunction with the *Hungarian* Malecontents, and such others of the Discontented Subjects of the Emperor, as they hoped might be enticed to a Revolt in *Bohemia*, and some other Parts; These Remonstrances being founded upon very solid Reasons of State, and for the greatest part upon undeniable Matter of Fact, the *French* Court were too quick-sighted not to give ear to them; so that this Matter proved the Subject of several most Serious Debates in their Councils, but without coming for some time to any final Determination; Not but that they were convinced of the Feasibility of what had been proposed by the Elector of *Bavaria*: But the chief Designs of the Court being then bent against the Duke of *Savoy*, they remain'd in suspense for a considerable time what side to chuse, betwixt two such nice and difficult Points, since they found themselves not in a Capacity to act with equal Vigour on both sides. At last the Ballance turn'd for the War in *Italy*, where the Imperialists and *Savoyard* Troops being much weakned for want of timely Recruits, (the first being employ'd against the *Hungarians* and *Bavarians*) the *French* flatter'd themselves with vain Hopes, to reduce the Duke of *Savoy* in a short time to such Straits, as to make him accept the Terms offer'd him by their King. In Expectation of the happy Success of this Project, the *French* Armies in *Italy* were order'd to be increas'd to 60000 Men, (including the *Spanish* Forces) whilst a Body of 12 or 13000 Men, (most Recruits) was thought a sufficient additional Strength to the former *French* Auxiliaries in *Bavaria*, to maintain themselves in the Possession of what they had gain'd there before, to harra'ss into a Compliance with the Elector of *Bavaria's* Demands, the Circles of *Franconia* and *Suabia* to embrace a Neutrality, and at the same time to give all possible Encouragement to the *Hungarian* Malecontents.

These Resolutions falling out quite contrary to the Expectation of the most judicious disinterested Persons residing in the *French* Court, some that bore an Affection to the House of *Bavaria*, and were not unacquainted with the Affairs of the Court of *Savoy*, did not stick to say, that the *French* were going about to grasp at the Shade, instead of the Substance, till they were satisfied by some of the most knowing and most able Ministers residing at the

French

French Court, that they found them under an absolute Necessity of taking these Measures, since, tho' they were safely got into the Possession of *Landau*, and some other considerable Places upon the *Rhine*, and by the taking of *Ulm*, *Passau*, *Augsburg* and *Ratisbon* upon the *Danube*, which secured their passage into the Imperial Hereditary Countries on that side, yet these being Places of more Bulk than Strength, and consequently requiring very large Garrisons for their defence, would weaken their Forces in those Parts to such a Degree, as to disenable them to undertake any thing of Moment at a considerable distance thence; especially, considering that the Malecontents of *Hungary*, being as yet undisciplin'd and ill modell'd, no great good could be expected from them, till they were put in a better Condition. Unto this it was added, that since any great and sudden Progress of the *French* in the Heart of the Empire in Conjunction with the *Hungarian* Malecontents, (in case the same could be effected) might in all Probability not only rouse the Spirits and hasten the Preparations of divers of the *German* Princes, that had appear'd pretty backwards hitherto, but also engage some of the Neuter Princes, as the Czar of *Moscovy*, King *Augustus* of *Poland*, &c. to spare some of their Troops to the Emperor, and perhaps induce the *English* and *Dutch* also to undertake a most powerful Diversion upon the *Moselle*, and enter *France* it self on that side, that Court had (not without reason) judg'd it much more both for their Safety and Interest, at this Conjunction, to endeavour upon very good Hopes of Success, the Reduction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and consequently of putting an End to the War in *Italy*, (which always proved Difficult and vastly Expensive to *France*,) than to adventure the Success and Reputation of their Arms upon such uncertain Events; and subject to so many Hazards at a vast Distance from home; which after the end of the *Italian* War, might be compass'd with much less Danger, by turning the chiefest Force of *France* against the Empire.

These were the Measures concerted in the *French Court*, in reference to the Empire and *Italy*, (besides a great Army intended for the *Netherlands*, to make Head against the *English* and *Dutch*) at the time of the coming of the Duke of *Marlborough* to the *Hague*, at the beginning of the Year 1704. The States General of the *United Provinces* being sensible, that in case no speedy and effectual Relief were given to the Empire, but the *French* suffered to turn the main Strength of their Arms against *Germany*, after the Reduction of the Duke of *Savoy*; and being

being fully convinced that the relieving of the last, depended in a great Measure on giving such a powerful Diversion to *France*, in *Germany*, as might either oblige them to recall some of their Troops, or at least to slacken their vast Preparations for *Italy*, did request the Queen of *Great Britain* to agree with them in those Measures: These being (as I said before) concerted accordingly with the Duke of *Marlborough* upon his arrival at the *Hague*, tended chiefly to this, that the greatest part of the *English* Forces in the *Netherlands*, with their Auxiliaries and some *Dutch*, should early in the Spring march to the *Danube*, in Conjunction with a great Body of *Germans*, to attempt the clearing of the *Danube* of the *French* and *Bavarians*; Tho', at the same time, it was industriously spread abroad, that their Design was chiefly intended upon the *Moselle*; which Bait being unwearily swallow'd by the *French* Court, proved the first Step towards their fatal Overthrow at *Bleinheim*.

Upon this Occasion I can't forbear to observe to you, that (as it seems) there is a certain Party (and that none of the least considerable) with you in *England*, who disowning the present Constitution of the Government, as settled upon the Basis of the late Revolution in 1688, are very forward in imparting whatever passes of Moment in *England* to the *French* Court; The Character they bear here among the most judicious and unbiass'd Judges of Policy, is, that tho' the King of *France* buys their Intelligence at a much cheaper Rate, than in any other part of *Europe*, (where he is obliged to bestow vast Sums upon that account) yet their Advices being for the most part founded upon ill-digested Notions, and passionate Zeal for the Cause they espouse, rather than upon Certainty, have more than once stood very dear to *France*; Witness the vast Charges that Crown was put to, at several times, in the late War, for the intended Restauration of the late King *James II.* which being built upon their Chimerical Notions and Probabilities only, miscarry'd all in the Event. Thus it happen'd once more at this Conjunction, and the *French* had sufficient reason to repent of having rely'd upon the Misintelligence received from that Party; For, the Report industriously spread in *Holland*, of their intended Expedition upon the *Moselle*, (to amuse the *French*) being confirm'd by them to their Friends and Correspondents in *France*, under such certain Circumstances, (which amounted to no more than unhappy Guesses) as appear'd plausible to that Court, they
were

were so far from altering their Measures, in relation to *Italy* and *Germany*, that they thought it sufficient to dispose only a considerable number of Forces near the *Rhine* to be ready upon occasion to march either to the *Moselle*, or by way of diversion into the *Netherlands*, as opportunity should offer.

Things remain'd thus in suspense, till the sudden and expeditious March of the Duke of *Marlborough* out of the *Netherlands* at the Head of a potent Army of chosen Troops (in *May*,) not a little alarm'd the *French* Court, but still flattering themselves with the same hopes of their being intended only for the *Moselle*, they contented themselves with Countermanding a considerable Body of their Troops sent to the *Netherlands*, in order to follow, and to observe the Motions of the Confederate Army: This Army consisting of about 16000 Men, and Commanded by the Marshal *de Villeroy*, march'd with all expedition towards the *Rhine*; but the Duke of *Marlborough* having got much the start of them both in point of Time, and in his March (the *French* being forc'd to take a greater Circumference) pass'd the River *Neckar* at *Ladenburg*, and after an Interview with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* at *Great Heppach*, directed his March through *Swabia*, in order to join the Imperial Army under Prince *Lewis*, which he did effectually in a few Days after. Great was the surprize of the Marshal *de Villeroy* to see himself thus outwitted by the Duke of *Malborough*, but much greater the amazement of the *French* Court, to see themselves thus deceived in this Expedition, and disappointed in their Measures, by so stupendious and unforeseen a March, as from the Frontiers of *Holland* to the *Danube*, which containing several hundred Miles, was performed in about five Weeks time; the joint Confederate Forces under the Duke of *Marlborough*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, encamping in sight of the *French* and *Bavarian* Camp at *Dillingen* by the first day of *July*.

It is scarce to be imagin'd what a perplexity this unexpected News caused at the *French* Court, which put them to the greatest *Nonplus*, that had befallen them for these many Years last past; they being sensible that the Confederate Forces then upon the *Danube*, were so much superiour in every respect to the *French* and *Bavarians*, that without a speedy and strong Reinforcement, they must succumb to a more potent Enemy; and how to send such a Reinforcement, was a Matter subject to a thousand Difficulties, being destitute of Provisions, Carriages and Money, and other Necessaries for the subsistence of a great Army, in so long a March, in an Enemies Country, in which they must expect

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Jun. 13th
Jun. 22.

expect to be continually attended, and harras'd by one of the most vigilant Generals in Christendom, I mean Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who was at the Head of a strong Army on the *Upper Rhine*, ready to observe all their Motions.

July 2d. Whilst these things were in agitation at Court, News was brought of the Engagement that happened at the *Schellenberg* near *Donawert*. On this Hill the Elector of *Bavaria* had caus'd strong Entrenchments to be made, as well for the security of his Camp at *Dillingen*, as to facilitate his Conjunction with the expected *French* Succours; but the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* being not ignorant of the consequence of this Post, had found means to force it with Sword in Hand, in less than an Hours time, in spite of all the Opposition made by 9000 *Bavarians* and *French*, of their best Troops posted there under the Count *d'Arco*. This brave and bold Stroke serving like a warning to the *French* Court, what they must expect from such courageous Troops, as would not be stopt in their Carreer, but open their way with their Swords through all the Barriers and Obstacles, they were more than ever perplext in their Councils; for, being sensible that in case they should be able to effect the desir'd Conjunction with the Elector of *Bavaria*, Prince *Eugene* would follow them at the Heels, and consequently the superiority would still remain, as much as before, on the Confederate side; they seem'd to foresee that danger which befel them afterwards on that side, and therefore resolv'd to try their Fortune another way. To effect this, it was given out as a certainty, that the *French*, by way of diversion, (to drive the Imperialists from the *Danube*) were making vast preparations for the Siege of *Philipsburg*; but this being found impracticable, or at least very difficult, by reason of the nearness of Prince *Eugene*, with his Army, and the pressing Necessities of the Elector of *Bavaria*, calling for more speedy and effectual Relief, that design was laid aside,

For, immediately after the Battle on the *Schellenberg*, the Elector not thinking himself secure in his advantageous and most convenient Camp at *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*, (where he had maintain'd himself very successfully all the last Campaign) retreated under *Augsburg*, thereby leaving a free Passage to the Enemy into his Country; these accordingly having pass'd the *Danube* near *Donawart*, entred *Bavaria*, and after being got into possession of all the most convenient Posts, laid waste the open Country with Fire and Sword, in hopes thereby to oblige the Elector to embrace the Imperial Party; who in effect, shew'd
some

some inclination towards a Composition ; but upon the approach of the *French* Succours, under the Marshal *de Tallard*, retracted all. The *French* Court seeing herself reduc'd to one of these Extrems, either to loose the Elector of *Bavaria* and all his Interest, or else to hazard their Troops upon great odds in the heart of an Enemy's Country, begun now to be sensible of the want of those Troops, which being employ'd in *Italy*, were at too great a distance to be serviceable to them at this Conjunction in this Expedition, especially since none could be spared from the *Netherlands*, their Army there being already so much weakned, by that strong Detachment under the Marshal *de Villeroy*, that, not being able to make Head against the *Dutch*, they had been forc'd to be idle Spectators of their Bombarding of *Namur* and *Bruges* in the beginning of *July*, and exacting vast Contributions from the open Countries.

Under this uncertainty of Affairs, it was at last resolv'd to march to the relief of the Elector of *Bavaria*, cost it what it would. But when the Marshal *de Tallard* was upon the Point of passing the *Rhine*, 8000 *Swiss* refus'd to march further, alledging that it was contrary to their Capitulations to fight against the Empire, which tho' it prov'd no small disappointment to the Marshal, who much rely'd upon these Troops, yet their number being supply'd out of the best Forces of the Neighbouring Garrisons, he pass'd the *Rhine* with 24000 of the best Troops of *France* at *Stratsburg*, and after having in vain attempted the reduction of *Villingen* (the better to secure his retreat) after a long and difficult March (being always nearly observ'd and alarm'd by the Imperial Army under Prince *Eugene*) of near a Month, at last joins the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Biberach*, without any farther Opposition. Both these Armies continu'd in their strong Camp under *Augsburg* for some Days, till having receiv'd certain intelligence, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was detach'd with about 16 or 17000 Men, to undertake the Siege of *Ingolstadt*, (the strongest Foretress of all *Bavaria*) it was resolv'd immediately to pass the *Danube*, in order to attack Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* (who lay strongly encamped near *Donawert*) before he could be reinforc'd or seconded by the *English* and *Dutch*, posted on the opposite side. Accordingly they pass'd that River at *Dillingen*; but seeing themselves disappointed in their Design by the vigilancy of the Duke of *Malborough*, who order'd General *Churchil* at the same time to pass the *Danube* at *Donawert*, to support Prince *Eugene*, it was resolv'd among them to encamp in the Fields of *Hogsted* with a Rivulet,

July 10.

Aug. 4.

Aug. 9.

Rivulet, and some marshy intervals betwixt them in their Front, where by fortifying their Camp, they did not question to maintain themselves against all the Efforts of the Confederate Army.

I am credibly inform'd that this Resolution was strenuously opposed by many of the most experienc'd Officers, especially among the *French*, who knowing that their Army, (but especially their Horse,) tho' somewhat superiour in number to the Enemy, yet being much fatigued by so long and difficult a March, and want of sufficient Forrage (whereas those of the Enemy had for a considerable time refreshed themselves in a plentiful Country) would scarce prove an equal Match to them, notwithstanding the advantageous situation of their Camp; whereas in their Camp under *Augsburg*, strengthened by the nearness of that City, and the Rivers of the *Danube* and the *Lech*, they might with security pass the Campaign, till the *English* and *Dutch* being obliged to return Home, they might easily regain what they had lost before. This being urged more and more the next following Day, when they saw the Duke of *Marlborough* passing the *Danube* with his whole Army at *Schöneseelt*, was nevertheless strenuously opposed by the Elector of *Bavaria*, and his Friends and Officers of the Army, who being enraged to see their Country laid desolate with Fire and Sword, were not wanting upon this occasion to magnifie the Bravery of their Troops, and to represent this as the fittest opportunity (during the absence of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* with the Troops under his Command) to obtain such an advantage over the Enemy, as would oblige them to quit the Country of *Bavaria*, and be glad to maintain themselves in *Smabia*; whereas if they let slip this favourable Conjunction, they must expect to retreat back under the Cannon of *Augsburg*, to be idle Spectators of the Desolation and Conquest of their Country, and after a starving Campaign, be reduced to a necessity of seeing the remnants of their Troops to perish for want of necessary Winter-Quarters. These Reasons, tho' they appear'd more specious than real to the most experienced among the Generals, considering the present Circumstances of their Affairs, yet being under an absolute necessity (according to their King's Order) to retain the Elector of *Bavaria* in their Interest, they were forced to submit to his Council and Opinion, which drew upon them that fatal Blow, they received at the Battle of *Bleinheim*. For the whole Army under the Duke of *Marlborough*, having, as we told you, pass'd the *Danube*, and joined Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, it was resolved

resolved by an unanimous Consent of all the Generals to attack the *French* and *Bavarians*, before they could fortifie themselves in their Camp. Accordingly the Battle being begun the next Day by the Confederate Army, a little after Noon, their left Wing Commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*, put the right Wing of the *French*, but especially their Horse, after a sharp Engagement of three or four Hours, to a total Rout, which being perceived by the greatest part of their Infantry, posted in the Village of *Hochstedt*, they were so dismay'd at the flight of their Cavalry, that without any farther resistance, twenty six Battalians, and four Regiments of Dragoons surrendred Prisoners of War. The left Wing of the Enemy consisting for the most part of *Bavarians*, fought much longer, and with much more obstinacy against the Right of the *Imperialists*, under the Conduct of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and several times repulsed them; but these being bravely seconded from the Body of Reserve, and the *French* seeing their left Wing put to an absolute rout, also quitted the Field, tho' in much better order than their left, being, also sheltered by the approaching Night, and the adjacent Woods. I will not pretend here to enter upon all the particulars of so great an Action, the Circumstances whereof have been sufficiently made known to the World on all sides; but it may not be amiss, upon this occasion, to mention some Reasons alledg'd by the *French* Court of some Defects, which they say occasion'd this fatal Overthrow.

Aug. 13.
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They are very willing to acknowledge, that the Bravery and Number of the Confederated Cavalry in the Left Wing under the Duke of *Marlborough* (which was superior to theirs, as they were to them in Foot) was the first occasion of their Disaster; This they say being not unforeseen by the Marshal *de Tallard*, and some other great Officers, who commanded their right Wing, strict Orders were given for the King's Household Troops, and the rest of the Cavalry and Dragoons posted at the foot of a Hill, and in several Lanes at some distance from the Rivulet, that was in the Front of their Camp, to charge in one Body the first Line of the Enemies Cavalry, as soon as they should have pass'd that Rivulet, before they could form a second or third Line; but this passage of the Confederate Horse happening at a time whilst the Marshal *de Tallard* was employ'd at some distance in the Village of *Hochstedt* upon the Banks of the *Danube*, where he had posted the beforementioned 26 Battalions of Infantry, and

4 Regiments of Dragoons, to give the necessary Orders, to prevent his being attack'd in the Flank; this Command was but ill observed by the *French* Cavalry and the Troops of the King's Household, not out of Cowardise, as has been surmised by some, but rather out of a vain Opinion of their own Strength and Courage; by which fatal Mistake, suffering the *English* and other Confederate Horse, not only to pass the Rivulet without any considerable Opposition; but also to form as many Lines as they thought fit, they were too late convinced of the Vanity of their Opinion; for the Confederate Horse charged and drove them up to the top of the Hill, and tho' they return'd three or four times to the Charge, and with great Bravery, broke more than once through the first Line of the Enemy; yet meeting with the same vigorous Resistance in the Second, they were at last put to a total Rout, with incredible Slaughter, besides a considerable Number forced and drowned into the *Danube*. This is not the first time the *French* have paid dearly for this vain Opinion of the Bravery of their own Troops: I remember an Instance of the same nature, which happen'd in the War which ended by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; The Confederate Forces of *Lorrain*, *Munster* and *Lunenburgh*, having besieged and reduced the City of *Treves* in *Germany*, to the last Extremity, the Marshal *de Crequi* march'd with an Army of 10000 *French*, of their best Troops, to its Relief: At his approach part of the Confederate Army, not unequal in number to the *French*, march'd out of their Camp to give the Enemy Battle, who being posted on the other side of a Rivulet, they nevertheless pass'd it in sight of them; scarce 3000 of the Confederate Forces had pass'd the Rivulet, when most of the *French* General Officers desir'd leave of the Marshal to charge them; but he rejected their Request, ordering them to stay till at least one half were come over, whereby they might gain a *Compleat Victory*. Accordingly they staid with Impatience for the Passage of 3000 more, when charging them with the greatest Fury imaginable, they thought to have overthrown them at the first Charge, but these being of the choicest Troops of *Germany*, and commanded by the brave Duke of *Lorrain*, gave them so hot a Reception, that they were forced to retreat, and give way for the rest to pass also the Rivulet in good order; which being done, they charged the *French* in their turn with so much Vigour, that they put them to a total Rout, with such a Slaughter, that very few escaped the Sword, the Marshal *de Crequi* himself being forced,

with

with four or five Officers, only to make the best of their way into the Town, which he defended most gallantly for some time after, till he and the whole Garrison were made Prisoners of War in the Place. I thought fit to mention this Instance, because I have known some intelligent Persons look upon this vain Opinion of the *French*, as a Fiction put upon them by their Enemies, whereas I am sensible, that the Friends of Marshal *de Tallard* here, alledge the Non-executing of his Orders in this Point, and consequently the Vain-glory of some Officers, as the first and main Reason of their Overthrow; which seems the more probable, because several General Officers and Regiments were broken soon after by the King's special Command.

The Second is, The want of Duty in the greatest part of the Foot in their Right Wing, especially of those posted in the Village of *Hochstet*; For, say they, had the Foot, after the Defeat of the Cavalry, stood bravely to it, and thereby given time, at least, to some of the Horse to rally, they might have kept in play the Enemies Foot, till being joyn'd by so strong a Body, as that which was in the Village of *Hochstet*, they might in all probability have made a tolerable Retreat towards their Left Wing, which being at that time still entire, they might jointly have retreated in good Order, and consequently saved at least one Moiety of their Men; whereas on the contrary, the Foot following immediately the Example of the Horse, and the Body in the Village of *Hochstet*, which resembled a small Army, which had behaved it self very well during the whole Engagement, no sooner saw it self destitute of the Support of its Cavalry, and the rest of their Forces, but the Dragoons attempted to Swim the *Danube*; but failing therein, surrendred Prisoners of War with 26 Battallions, which with the rest taken upon this occasion, amounted to 13000, and very near as many slain; so that the loss of the *French*, what with these before mentioned, what with Desertion, and what with their wounded (most of which dy'd in their long and hasty retreat from the *Danube* to the *Upper Rhine*, for want of Conveniencies) amounted upon this occasion to no less than 40000 Men; and the Confederates also did not purchase this Victory without 5000 Men slain, and as many wounded; but the most of the latter recovered, being well provided with all manner of Necessaries, and very good Accommodation. I know very well that the *French* Court did all they could to disguise both their Surprize and their Loss, but this could not be

be done so effectually, but that the Truth thereof came to the Ears of the Forreigners then residing at *Paris*: I remember that a forreign Gentleman coming about that time to *Paris* from *Strasburg*, assured me, that he saw the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Marshal *de Marsin* marching into the before-mentioned City with the broken Remnants of their Armies, which amounted in all scarce to 12000 Men, (and those in a miserable Condition, especially the Horse) whereas at the Battle of *Bleinheim*, they were above 50000 strong.

But it is time to leave the *French* for a while in *Germany* to bewail their Loss, whilst their Victorious Enemies are improving their Victory by almost daily Conquests in *Bavaria*, and to turn our Eyes towards *Italy*, to take a View of the Posture of Affairs on that side. If it is certain that the brave Duke of *Savoy* was as hardly press'd upon by the *French* on the Borders of *Piemont*, as the Elector of *Bavaria* was by the Confederates upon the *Danube*; so it is unquestionable, had he follow'd the Footsteps of the last of these two Princes, he might in all probability have shared his Fate with him: But this wise and brave Prince took quite different Measures; For, after having rejected all the most specious Offers of the *French* Court, being resolved to dispute every Inch of Ground with them, with a Conduct and Foresight without Example, he ordered all the Provisions of the flat Country to be brought and laid up in his Strong-holds and Cities, the most exposed whereof being provided with good Garrisons, and every thing else requisite for a long and vigorous Defence, he moved with his remaining little Army in such a manner, as he judged most convenient to observe the Enemy, without putting himself under a Necessity of hazarding a Battle, unless upon very good Circumstances. It must be acknowledged, even by his Enemies, that this Constancy and Conduct of the Duke of *Savoy*, broke all the Measures of the *French* on that side, as the March of the Duke of *Marlborough* to the *Danube* did in *Germany*, notwithstanding all the Success they met with this Year in *Italy*. For, though the Duke of *Savoy* was not in a Condition to cover the strong Fortres of *Vercell*, seated upon the Borders of *Piemont* and the *Milaneze*, the said place being actually besieged by a powerful Army under the Duke of *Vendosme*, yet by the brave Defence made by frequent Sallies and otherwise for above five Weeks successfully, joyn'd to the Mortality that reign'd in the *French* Camp, by reason of the unwholsom Situation of
this

June 14.

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this Fortrefs in a marfhy Ground, and among ftanding Water, during the hot Season, fwept away daily fo great a Numbers of Men in the Camp of the Befieged, that it was generally computed then at *Paris*, they had not bought this place with lefs than the lofs of above 12000 Men. As this queftionlefs was the occafion of the Demolifhing of the Fortifications of *Verceil*, fo all the World was furpriz'd, that the fame Garriſon which had defended fo confiderable a Frontier Fortrefs with fo much Gallantry, ſhould at laſt be allow'd no other Conditions, than to remain Prifoners of War, (contrary to the Cuſtom of War;) but the *French* Court excuſed the Matter, by ſaying, that ſince their chief Aim was at this Juncture to reduce the Duke of *Savoy* to ſuch Straits, as to oblige him to embrace the Terms offer'd him by the King, it would be a piece of Folly, to ſtrengthen his Army by the Acceſſion of ſuch a Number of brave Soldiers: But to ſhew that they had ſome Regard to (or at leaſt, that they were not unacquainted with) the Cuſtom of War, they ſuffered them to march out with their Arms through the Breach, but afterwards diſarm'd and made them Prifoners. The ſame Method they obſerved in all the other Places they took from the Duke of *Savoy*.

The brave Reſiſtance they had met with before *Verceil*, not in the leaſt abating their Courage, or altering their Reſolutions of reducing the Duke of *Savoy*, they march'd towards *Ivrea*, which they beſieg'd alſo and attack'd with extraordinary Vigour; but that Place being provided by the Duke with every thing for its Defence, as much as poſſibly could be, they found it as hot a piece of Work there, as they had done at *Verceil*; and there being no leſs than three different Forts (beſides the Body of the Place) to be attack'd in form and that ſeparately, this conſum'd abundance of time and Men Sept. 27th before it could be forced to a Surrender, the Garriſon fighting like deſperate Men, who expected no other Terms than to be made Prifoners of War, and upon that Score were the more ready to obey their Orders, of holding out to the laſt Extremity, it being the Duke's abſolute Inter-eſt to ſpin out this Campaign, as not queſtioning but that he ſhould be effectually relieved in the next by a powerful Force of the Confederacy. In the mean while the Confederates in *Germany* being not backward to improve the preſent Opportunity, had left a good Body of Troops in *Bavaria*, to reduce ſuch Places as yet remain'd in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, which
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being happily perform'd, partly by Force, partly by an Agreement made afterwards betwixt that Electorate and the Emperor, the Forces under the Duke of *Marlborough*, lately march'd to the *Rhine*, were the more at leisure to extend their intended Conquests on that side, and upon the *Moselle*. To this purpose they invested the strong and considerable City and Fortrefs of *Landau*, the Siege being cover'd by the Duke of *Marlborough*, posted with the main Army near *Croen-Weissenburg*, till the arrival of the King of the *Romans* in the Camp before *Landau*; when the Duke marching with part of the Forces under his Command, to support those detach'd before towards the *Moselle*, the City of *Treves* was reduced within a few days after, and Preparations made for the Siege of the strong Castle of *Traerbach* in order to secure their Winter Quarters both upon the *Upper Rhine* and the *Moselle*.

As there were very few that doubted the Reduction of those Places, which as the Case then stood, could not be relieved by the *French*, and that thereby the Confederates intended to open themselves a way into *France* the next Campaign; so they did not in the least question, but that after the Conquest of *Ivrea*, the *French* Court would immediately recal some of their Troops out of *Italy* to stem the Torrent that threatened a dreadful Inundation, as well upon the *Rhine* as the *Moselle*; but to our no small surprize, it was soon divulged at Court, that the Siege of *Verue*, in *Italy* was resolved upon, notwithstanding the Opinion of many, both of the Generals and others to the contrary; who alledged that this Enterprize being subject to great hazards in so far advanced a Season, and when their Troops were already so much diminished by the Sieges of *Vercil* and *Ivrea*, they judged it much safer to spare their Men, than to expose them to such uncertain hazards, at a time when they were likely to stand in need of all their Strength, and Politicks, to repair the great Losses sustained this Campaign in *Germany*, and to make good their Borders against an intended powerful Irruption. 'Tis certain that *Verue* being the chief, and I may say, the only inlet of Strength into the Valley of *Turin*, the Duke of *Savoy* had left nothing unattempted to put it into such a state of Defence by several additional Fortifications, a strong Garison, and all other Necessaries, as to hold out for a considerable time, against a potent Army. But what was likely most to conduce to the long defence of this Place, was, that having strongly Fortify'd himself, on the opposite side

of the River, at *Crescentino*, he had thereby an opportunity by means of a Bridge, to keep open a free Communication with *Verue*, and to relieve it from time to time with fresh Men, and all other Necessaries, as often as occasion should require. Add to this, the approaching Winter Season, and that the *French* Forces were already diminished, and wanted Recruits at the beginning of *October*; (whereof I saw a List my self about that time, according to the distribution made thereof, to be raised in the several Provinces of above 20000 Men;) The *French* Court was not ignorant in the least of all this, and, as I told you before, many among them declared their dislike at this Enterprize, but being over-ruled in Council by a prevailing Party, who urged, that since at this dangerous Conjunction, they ought more than ever to push on the Reduction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the same could not be expected without the Conquest of *Verue*, they were under an absolute necessity of purchasing it at any rate, as not questioning, that when the said Duke should see himself chased under the Cannon of *Turin*, and be in imminent Danger of a Siege of his Capital City, he would be brought to more serious Considerations of his present dangerous State, and accept of the Propositions made to him, rather than to expose his Residence and Family to the danger of a total Destruction.

These specious Reasons prevailing in the *French* Court before all other Considerations, the Siege of *Verue* was begun, but attended with so many Difficulties and sinister Accidents, that the *French* Court was never put to a greater *Nonplus*, O^r. 14. whether to continue or raise it at several times. For, the Duke continually sending unto them fresh Supplies, they made frequent and most successful Sallies; and when the *French* attack'd any of their Works, repuls'd them with great slaughter, and repair'd their Breaches as fast as they were opened by the Cannon of the Besiegers; which Disasters joyn'd to the cold and wet Season in an Army already miserably harass'd in the preceeding long and fatiguing Campaign, had reduc'd their Army to such a deplorable State, that some of the Duke of *Savoy's* Officers were of Opinion, he might with sure hopes of Success, adventure with his small Army, the raising of the Siege. But that wise Prince, being unwilling to venture the loss of all his Dominions, upon the uncertain Event of such an Enterprize, thought it much more for his

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safety, to consume the *French* Army before a place, where they gain'd so little Ground; yet resolv'd to try his Fortune by a vigorous Sally; which he did accordingly in Person, and with such success, that he forc'd the Besiegers from their most advanc'd Works, destroy'd them, and after a considerable slaughter made among them, retreated in good order into the Town. This Sally joyn'd to the before-mentioned Difficulties, caus'd fresh uneasiness to the Court; for the Works ruin'd by the *Savoyards* requiring a considerable time to be repair'd, and to be advanc'd so near to the Body of the Place, it fell once more under Debate, whether since they had for near four Months gain'd so little Ground, with so great loss, upon the Enemy, they ought to continue the Siege or not; the unexpected Resistance they had met with in this Enterprize, having, by this time, made several of those who had been very eager for this Siege, to repent of their Opinion, they came, after various Debates, at last to this Resolution, That, since it was found impracticable to take the Place, whilst it could be constantly relieved with Supplies from the Duke's Camp at *Crescentino*, the Attacks ought to be changed, and chiefly to be carry'd on against the Fort that cover'd the Bridge of Communication betwixt *Crescentino* and *Verue*; which if it could be effected, they did not question the Success of the Siege, but if not, it must be rais'd. The best Engineers of *France* being hereupon sent immediately to the Camp of the Besiegers, and they having given their Opinion for the feasibility of the thing, the Attacks were directed accordingly against the Fort of the Bridge, notwithstanding which they met with great Difficulties also in this attempt, being much exposed to the Cannon planted on the Entrenchments of the Duke of *Savoy's* Camp on the opposite side of the River, which kill'd them great numbers of Men; but as all lay at stake now, they continued their Works in spite of all the Obstacles, and having at last made a Breach on the said Fort, carry'd it by Surprize with Sword in Hand in the Night-time, ruin'd part of the Bridge, and obliged the Duke of *Savoy* to retreat from his Camp at *Crescentino* towards *Chivas* or *Chivazzo*. The Garison of *Verue* did nevertheless defend itself for some time with great bravery; but being now without all hopes of Relief, all their Provision spent, and the *French* ready to give the general Assault, they blew up the Fortifications, retreated into the Dungeon, and there beat a Parly, but could obtain no other Terms than to be

be made Prisoners of War. Thus, at last, they got into the possession of *Verue* after a Siege of near six Months, and with the loss of 20000 Men of their choicest Foot, the blame whereof was in a great measure laid at the Door of the Duke of *Vendosme* and his Ingeneers, who, tho' they were the most forward for this Siege, yet spent near four Month, and above 14000 Men in vain, till they were directed by the Ingeneers sent from *France* afterwards to carry on the Attacks against the Fort that cover'd the Bridge; besides that the *French* had the Mortification to find, that, after so much Treasure and Blood spent in the taking of this Place, they were not a jot the nearer to the so much expected Reduction of the Duke of *Savoy*; who whilst the *French* were forced to seek for Quarters of Refreshment, fortify'd *Chivazzo*, and the Avenues to *Turin*, and having certain assurance of strong Succours to be sent to his assistance under Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with an unparallel'd Constancy rejected all the offers made them by that Court.

We must now travel from *Italy* to *Spain*, where there happen'd an Accident equally difficult in its Undertaking, but more dangerous, (if I mistake not) in its Consequence. This was the Siege of *Gibraltar*, seated just within the Streights Mouth, on the Coast of *Spain*. This Place, after the *French Brest Squadron* had the good Fortune to get into *Thoulon*, being taken by the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet, the *French* Court who were sensible how pernicious this Thorn which stuck so close into the side of *Spain*, might prove to their Affairs, ordered their Fleet now joined by the *Thoulon* Squadron, to put to Sea immediately, in order to fight the combined Fleet, being sensible, that, if they could beat them out of the Streights, they might promise themselves the regaining of *Gibraltar*. Accordingly both the Fleets meeting, an Engagement ensued betwixt them off of *Malaga*, which, tho' it continued for the greatest part of the Day, yet the Victory remain'd in a manner undecided, neither Party loosing one Ship, except that the *French* lost one before the Battle, and received the greatest damage in their Ships and Men. It happen'd very fortunate for the *French*, that the *English* and *Dutch*, had just before detach'd ten or eleven of their Men of War upon another Expedition, and that some of their Ships of the Line of Battle were much stinted of Ammunition (which they had left at *Gibraltar*) without which they would in all probability, not have come off at so cheap a rate.

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But notwithstanding they mis'd of their aim in chasing the *English* and the *Dutch* out of the Streights, these *Spanish* Grantees that were most zealous for the *French* Interest in *Catalonia*, and fear'd (not without Reason) that this Place might one time or other serve the Confederates as an Inlet into *Spain*, press'd the Siege of that Place with great vehemency at the *French* Court. In effect they shew'd no great inclination to embark in such hazardous Enterprizes as the Sieges of *Verue* and *Gibraltar* at once, at a time when their Affairs look'd with so indifferent a Face upon the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*: They knew, that tho' the place was but indifferently fortify'd on the Land-side, they had to deal with one of the bravest and most resolute Persons in Christendom, whose Conduct and Courage they had had more than sufficient Proofs of in the Siege of *Barcelona*, in the last War; they knew him to be at the head of 2000 *English* Marines, all brave Troops, well provided with every thing for a vigorous Defence of so important a Place, and secure of continual Supplies, of all that should be requisite from *Lisbon*, where the *English* and *Dutch* had left a good Squadron for that purpose. These Difficulties joined to the approach of the Winter Season, made the *French* Court somewhat averse to this Enterprize, whereof they seem'd to foresee the Danger; but, as I told you before, most of the *Spanish* Grantees (perhaps out of different Motives) representing the Matter not only as subject to very few Difficulties, but also as absolutely necessary for their present security, they saw themselves obliged to comply with their Importunities, and consent not only to the Siege, but also to assist therein with part of their Troops.

This Siege, like that of *Verue*, being begun in *October*, and continuing for almost the same time, and with equal vigour, had a much worse Event, the *Spaniards* being obliged to raise it after the loss of all their Infantry, the want whereof they are likely to feel to their cost the next following Campaign. For tho' the place was attack'd with incredible fury, yet the brave Prince of *Hesse* at the head of the *English* Marines, supplying the defects of the Fortifications, gave such a hot Reception to the Besiegers in all their Attacks and Assaults, that they were continually repuls'd with great slaughter; but as the *Spaniards* are a Nation very constant and persevering as well in their Resolutions as in their Undertakings, they continued the Siege with the same obstinacy, and notwithstanding the Prince of *Hesse*

Hesse had received several Supplies both of Men and other Necessaries by Sea, they reduc'd the Place almost to the greatest Extremity, (with the assistance of a *French* Squadron) till at last a considerable reinforcement being convey'd thither, by a strong *English* and *Dutch* Squadron of Men of War, which surpriz'd and destroy'd some of the *French* Ships, and at the same time the Confederate Forces on the Frontiers of *Portugal* making preparations to invade *Spain* on that side (which they effected soon after with good success) the *Spaniards* saw themselves under an absolute necessity of raising that fatal Siege, which had consumed most of their Infantry; it being computed that their loss, together with that of the *French*, amounted to 16000 or 18000 Men, the want of which they felt to their cost soon after, as will appear by the sequel of these Considerations.

As these two Sieges had destroy'd a number of Men not inferior to what had been slain, taken or wounded in the fatal Battle of *Hochsted*, the Eyes of all *Europe* were turn'd upon *France* to see in what manner they would be able to raise a sufficient Force, and that in a few Months time, to oppose the Storm which manifestly threatned them upon the *Moselle*, and at the same time to pursue their grand Project against the Duke of *Savoy*, especially since it was now known to all the World that Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* was appointed to head a powerful Army in *Italy*, composed, besides the Imperialists, of 8000 *Prussians*, and 4000 *Palatine* Troops. But what is not a Prince who is Master of a great and potent Kingdom, who has both the Persons and Purse of all his Subjects at his absolute disposal, capable of doing in such a case? 'Tis true, they laboured at that time in *France* under the greatest Difficulties imaginable to recruit their Horse, which were almost all perished in *Germany* and the *Netherlands* by a contagious Distemper, and they would have found it impracticable, had it not been for their good Friends the *Swiss*, and the Negligence, or rather Treachery and Covetousness of the *German* Governours upon the Frontiers of *Switzerland* and *Lorrain*; these being blinded by the *French* Pistols, suffered at least 40000 Horses to pass into *France*, for which, tho' the *French* paid a very excessive rate, yet they thought nothing too dearly bought for their own safety. The recruits of their Men they purchased at a much cheaper Price; for every Province being oblig'd in proportion to its extent,

extent, or other Circumstances, to raise such a certain number of Men by a prefix'd time, as by the King's Will and Pleasure, was enjoyn'd them, without any exception or limitation, the World stood amazed to see their Army encrease in the midst of their daily Losses before *Verue*, their Forces in *Italy* not inferiour in number at the beginning of the Spring, to what they had been the preceeding Campaign, and their Auxiliaries in *Spain* compleated upon the same Foot as before, wherewith they flattered themselves to make head against the *Portuguese*, and their *English* and *Dutch* Auxiliaries, but found themselves egregiously mistaken in their account, as will be apparent hereafter.

At the same time they were under no small Perplexity in relation to the Affairs of *Germany*, how to weather the impending Storm; for which purpose the Troops of the Household, with most of their best Troops were ordered to move early towards *Lorrain*; but as these were much inferiour in number to so puissant an Army, as was suppos'd would be brought into the Field on that side, by the Confederates, and that their new raised Troops, as well as their undisciplin'd Horse, were judg'd a very unequal match to the Enemies veterane and victorious Troops, they were forc'd at the *French* Court, to submit to Necessity, and to content themselves with acting defensively upon the *Moselle* for this Campaign. The better to compass this end, and to prevent a powerful Irruption through *Lorrain* into *France*, (where its Barrier is none of the strongest) it was advis'd to secure all the Avenues thither by Lines strengthened with Re-doubts, and other Works, whereby they did not question to counterballance the Power of the Allies, and also to spare a sufficient number of Troops for the *Netherlands*, to act offensively there, and either to regain what they had lost in the two preceeding Campaigns, or else by so seasonable and powerful a Diversion, to oblige the Confederates to withdraw their Army from the *Moselle*, in order to secure their new Conquests in the *Netherlands*.

I very well remember, that the French Court were so fond of this Project, and so confident of its Success, that it was publickly given out that the Marshal *de Villars* had taken such Measures upon the *Moselle*, as to have rendred the Designs of the Confederacy on that side quite impracticable. As we were well assured that this Boasting did not proceed altogether

ther from the Confidence they reposed either in the Number or Quality of their Troops (they being much inferior in both to those of the Allies) or in the Strength of their Lines, the Battle of *Schellenberg* having taught them before, that these may prove sometimes Obstacles, but such as are not unsurmountable to brave Troops; but not knowing where to look for the true Reason of this their great Assurance, we were obliged to suspend our Judgment for some time: At last the Mystery being disclosed, it appear'd that their Correspondents in *England* having given them certain Assurance of certain Divisions in the Parliament, concerning a new Law to be enacted against the Dissenters, the Contests thereupon were likely to rise to such a Pitch, as would at least retard the giving of the Supplies for the use of the War, and consequently so slacken the Preparations of the *English*, for the ensuing Campaign, that they would not appear very formidable in the Field. The Forreigners who were sensible how often the French Court had been misguided by their Zealous Friends in *England*, gave no great Credit to these Surmises, which proved abortive in the Event, as we indeed expected they would; and happy had it been for the Confederacy, if both the French Court and we our selves had been mistaken in another Point; I mean in the Backwardness of the Preparations of the *Germans*: The French Court who not only pay their Spyes on the Borders, but sometimes even in the Heart of *Germany*, very well for their Intelligence, were not ignorant how Matters went on that side. They had, I say, timely Intelligence, that the greatest part of the Troops of the more remote Circles would scarce stir out of their Winter Quarters, before those of *France* should appear in the Field, and consequently be scarce in a Condition to act till about the middle of the Summer. But what appear'd most of all for the Advantage of *France* was, that they were made sensible, that the Magazines of the Imperialists were but indifferently provided in most places, where they seem'd to be most requisite to facilitate their Conjunction with the Confederate Forces upon the *Moselle*, and their Train of Artillery (to be furnish'd by several of the Imperial Cities, lying at a considerable distance from one another) in so ill a Condition, and so carelessly managed, that no great Service could be expected from it, at the beginning of the Campaign. All these Circumstances being, I say, well known to the French Court, or at least foreseen by them, they look'd

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look'd upon their Lines on the Frontiers of *Lorrain*, with their Troops posted therein, not only as a sufficient Strength to maintain their Ground, but they also attempted the dislodging of the Confederates from *Treves*, and their Lines made on that side, before they should be joyn'd by more Troops; but finding themselves disappointed in that Enterprize, they persisted in their former Resolution of standing upon the defensive upon the *Moselle*, but at the same time, to act with their utmost Vigour both upon the *Upper Rhine* and in the *Netherlands*, in order to prevent the Imperial Troops, and those under the Duke of *Marlborough*, from marching towards *Lorrain*; where they fear'd, not without reason, the Storm would fall.

1705. This was the State of the French Affairs, when the Duke of *Marlborough* coming in the beginning of *April* out of *England* to the *Hague*, things remain'd in suspense for some time among them; since after all the Precautions taken hitherto, they were sensible they must regulate their Measures chiefly according to the Motion of that Army, which was to be commanded by that Duke. As it was industriously given out in the *Netherlands*, that the first Aim of the Confederate Army in the *Netherlands*, was levell'd against the French Lines, they were not a little solicitous at Court upon that account, till being convinced by the March of the said Duke, of his real Intentions, they appear'd with a more chearful Countenance, it being then publicly discoursed at Court, that the Marshal *de Villars* had let the Court know, he had taken such Precautions on the Frontiers of *Lorrain*, as not to fear any thing from the Enemy. The March of the Duke of *Marlborough* at the Head of so brave an Army, was no sooner known at *Paris*, but it was expected that a considerable Detachment of the French Troops would also be order'd to move immediately, at least towards the *Upper Rhine*, to be the nearer at hand, to support the Marshal *de Villars* as occasion should require, or at least to prevent the Imperial Army from joyning with the Duke of *Marlborough*: But whether it were, that the French Court had some fore-sight, or fore-knowledge (as I told you before they had) of the Difficulties that were likely to attend this Conjunction on the side of the *Germans*; or whether they thought it more suitable to their present Circumstances of Affairs, by pushing on the War vigorously towards the

the Frontiers of *Holland*, to frighten these Republicans into an earnest desire of having the Troops under the Duke of *Marlborough* recall'd for the Defence of their own Frontiers, I will not pretend to determine. Certain it is, that whilst the before-mentioned Duke was expecting the Conjunction of the Imperialists upon the *Moselle*; the *French* in the *Netherlands* march'd out of their Lines, and having laid Siege to *Huy*, carried that Place, after a brave Defence of eleven days; Then the directing their March to *Liege*, and being without much Opposition got into the Possession of that great City, they made vast Preparations for the Attacking of its Citadel, with all possible Expedition and Vigour, in order to secure and enlarge their Conquests on that side.

Whilst these things were transacted by the *French* on that side, the Dutch Army commanded by my Lord *Overkirk*, being much inferior in Number, lay strongly entrench'd near *Mae-stricht*, in hopes of the Success of the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Confederates upon the *Moselle*; but the last being not sufficiently prepared for the intended Conjunction, broke all their Measures. For, though the *English*, with the greatest part of their and the *Dutch* Auxiliaries, marched with great Expedition, and the before-mentioned Duke had an Interview with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* at *Rastat*, wherein it was resolved, that the greatest part of the Imperial Army should march from the *Upper Rhine* to the *Moselle*, to act in Conjunction with the *English* and other Confederate Troops on that side, yet this Project came to nothing. 'Tis true the Duke of *Marlborough* advanc'd without any Opposition through the difficult Passages into the Valley of *Syrk*, and obliged the *French* to abandon that advantageous Camp; but these retreating into their strong Lines, and having destroy'd all the Forrage for a great Tract of Ground, it was impossible for the Confederates to expect, without imminent Hazard, the Conjunction of the Imperial and some other Troops, who being destitute of Horses, Carriages, Provisions, Artillery and other Necessaries, advanc'd with very slow and uncertain Marches. Under these Circumstances, the great Progresses of the *French* in the *Netherlands*, calling for prompt Relief there, and the Field-Deputies of the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, pressing very hard upon that Point, the Duke of *Marlborough* saw himself under an absolute Necessity of complying with their desire.

Pursuant to this Resolution, a Body of *Palatine* and some other Auxiliary Troops, being left at *Treves* to guard the Confederate Lines and Magazines upon the *Moselle*, and some others commanded to joyn the Imperialists on the *Upper Rhine*, the Duke march'd with all the rest back to the *Netherlands*, with so much Expedition, that he obliged the *French* to give over their Enterprize against the Citadel of *Liege*, to abandon that City, and to return into their Lines.

No sooner had the French Court received the News of the intended March of the Duke of *Marlborough* from the *Moselle* to the *Maese*, and of their Success in the *Netherlands*, but you would have been surpriz'd to hear them magnifie the Conduct of the Marshal *de Villars* (who commanded on the Frontiers of *Lorraine*) beyond whatever was attributed to the most renown'd Generals of Christendom, and to talk of nothing less, than the regaining of all they had lost the preceding Campaigns, both on the *Upper Rhine*, and in the *Netherlands*, especially in the first, where, after the abandoning and destroying of the Lines and vast Magazines of *Treves* by 7000 *Palatines*, (left there by the Confederates to guard them,) without any Opposition, and the taking of *Homburg* by the *French*, (after a slender Defence) they thought now of no less than the forcing of the Imperial Lines of *Lauterburg*, and besieging *Landau*, whilst the Generals of the Imperial and Confederated Forces on the *Upper Rhine* delay'd their Conjunction, upon various Pretensions and Disputes. It can't be deny'd, but that the *French* had all the reason in the World to rejoyce at their having diverted a most terrible Storm, that threatn'd them so near home, and to be ready to improve so great an Advantage to the utmost, when the Death of the late Emperor *Leopold I.* having not a little embroil'd, or at least retarded the Councils and Measures of the Court of *Vienna*, this appear'd too favourable an Opportunity to be slip'd, to repair in some measure their Reputation and Losses of the last Campaign, and that at a Conjunction when the whole Kingdom of *France* was under no small Apprehensions of the Danger that threatn'd them.

'Tis true the present young Emperor *Joseph I.* as he has shewn himself upon divers Occasions (whilst yet King of the *Romans*) a very active Prince, and one who seldom sided with
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the violent Councils and Projects of the *Jesuits* and their Party, so, at his first Accession to the Throne, he left nothing undone that might reduce his Councils to more unanimous and speedy Resolutions and Executions of their Designs, than had been observed hitherto. But *hoc Opus hic Labor*, this proved a Task not only of Time and Difficulty, but also of some dangerous Consequence, unless managed with the utmost Caution and Dexterity. I judge I cannot give you either a more authentic or more convincing Instance upon this Point, than the Expressions of Father *Wildman* the *Jesuit*, in his Sermon preach'd at the College of that Society, when they were celebrating the Obsequies of the late Emperor *Leopold I.* As he look'd upon himself doubtless upon that solemn Occasion, as the Mouth and Oracle of his Order, so he laid hold of this Opportunity to magnifie their pretended Services and Councils to the House of *Austria* to such a Degree, as to make the Protection they had always afforded to his Fraternity, and their Submission to their Councils, the chief, if not the only Foundation-stone of their Prosperity and Glory; not forgetting to alledge, among other things of this nature, that this was one of the main Heads recommended by the Emperor *Ferdinand* to his Successor the lately deceased *Leopold I.* to take the *Jesuits* for his Guides. But the Good Father *Wildman* found himself deceived in his Expectation, when by the Banishment inflicted upon him by the present Emperor *Joseph I.* he seem'd to manifest to all the World, that he was not inclin'd to trust his Affairs to such violent and dangerous Guides.

Whilst the Imperial Court was employ'd in redressing the Abuses slip'd into their Government during the late Reign, and endeavouring to find out proper Expedients for the Conjunction of the Confederated Forces of the Empire on the *Upper Rhine*, the *French*, who now by the regaining of *Huy*, by the Confederacy in the *Netherlands*, had laid aside all Thoughts of any further good Success on that side for this Campaign, were nevertheless not backwards to try their Fortune upon the *Upper Rhine*.

Notwithstanding the Marshal *de Villars*, after his coming from the *Moselle* to the *Rhine*, had been obliged to send a considerable Reinforcement from his Army to the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Marshal *de Villeroy*, the better to enable them

July 2.

to maintain themselves in their Lines in the *Netherlands*; notwithstanding all this I say, the *French* persisting in their Resolution of reducing *Landau* by a formal Siege, the said Marshal march'd with the whole Army towards *Crown Weissenburgh*, in order to force the Lines there; These being only the outward Lines of the *Imperialists*, slightly raised, and slenderly guarded, to prevent any sudden approach of the *French* to their strong Lines of *Lauterburgh* (where the greatest part of the Imperial Army was posted) the *French* met with no great opposition in that piece of Service, those few Troops that were posted there, rather to observe the Enemy, than to engage them, retreating in tolerable good Order with inconsiderable Loss; except some that were made Prisoners of War in the Town of *Crown Weissenburgh*. The *French* Army encouraged with hopes of further success on that side, advanced towards the before-mentioned Imperial Lines of *Lauterburgh*; but meeting with a very hot Reception on all the Avenues and Passes leading to these Lines, the Marshal *de Villars*, after some loss, thought fit not to expose his Reputation and Troops any further upon so hazardous an Enterprize.

Tho', as I told you, both these Actions happened without any considerable Loss on either side, yet was the *French* Court not a little Mortify'd at this disappointment, which being represented before as almost infallible to keep their own Subjects in Heart, and to over-awe the *Spaniards*, they began to dread the Effects of them, and to look upon them as the forerunners of some other sinister Events on that side, so soon as the Conjunction of the Imperial and Confederate Forces on the *Upper Rhine* should be effected; but if they were surprized with this unexpected News, they were almost Thunder-struck with what came to their Ears soon after. This was the forcing of their Lines in the *Netherlands* by the Confederate Forces under the Duke of *Marlborough*, against which they thought themselves so secure at that time in the *French* Court, that they boasted of nothing so much as the strength and goodness of their Troops on that side, and that they intended to face the Enemy without their Lines, having for that purpose so weakened their Army on the *Upper Rhine*, that they were not in a capacity to act with success against the *Imperialists*.

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Notwithstanding this entire security of the *French* Court, you must observe, that the before-mentioned Duke, with the other chief Generals of the *English* and *Dutch* Army having taken a narrow view of these Lines, in order to attack them, and communicated their Resolution to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, (who left the whole to their Conduct and Prudence) this Project met nevertheless with some opposition in the first Council of War held upon that Subject from divers of the *Dutch* General Officers, till in the second Monsieur *Overkerk*, the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, the Count *de Noyelles*, and some others of the chief Generals siding with the Duke of *Marlborough* and the *English* Generals, the said Attack was positively resolved upon; This Design being to be carry'd on with all possible secrecy, and consequently with all imaginable expedition, the Army under the Command of Monsieur *Overkerk* was Commanded the same Afternoon, to march towards *Burdine*, on the other side of the River *Mehaign*, whilst the Duke, with the *English*, was to make a motion to deceive the Enemy into an Opinion, as if they advanced that way, in order to support the *Dutch* Army, in their Attacks upon the Lines near *Meffelen*; where being much weaker, than in any other part, the *French* were so easily ensnared by this Stratagem, that without any further delay, they drew their main Strength that way, leaving the rest but very indifferently guarded, tho' at the same time the Confederates had sent a strong Detachment towards *Heylishem*, where the *French* Lines were reputed to be in the best Condition of Defence. But this being look'd upon, among their Generals, as a Faint only of the Enemy, to facilitate their Entrance into the Lines near *Meffelen*, they persisted in their Resolution, of drawing their whole Army that way, and to leave only a Body of about twenty *Bavarian* Squadrons, and the like number of *French* Battalions, to guard the rest.

This being not unperceived by the Confederates, they decamped in the Night time; and the *Dutch* Army having pass'd the *Mehaign*, march'd in Conjunction with the *English* towards *Heylishem*, with such expedition, that they entred the Lines on that side, without the least opposition: 'Tis true, the before-mentioned Body of *Bavarians* and *French* advanced with all possible speed, in order to drive the first Troops of the Enemy thence; but being repulsed with great slaughter, were forc'd

forc'd to make a disorderly Retreat; The Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Marshal *de Villeroy* judging it too hazardous to engage the whole Army, after the defeat of so considerable a Body of their best Troops retreated to *Louvain*, with the River *Dyle* in the Front of their Camp, looking upon this as the most advantageous Post (as actually it was) to stop the further progress of the Confederate Forces on that side. The loss of the *French* and *Bavarians* was very considerable upon this occasion, there being above 1000 killed upon the spot, and about 1500 taken Prisoners; that were left behind on the other side of the River *Geete*, which they were forc'd to pass with great precipitation, and to break down the Bridges behind them, to shelter themselves against the pursuit of the Enemy; not to mention those taken in *Tirlemont*, and divers other places (within the said Lines) who were forced to surrender to the Allies at Discretion.

This unexpected News coming, as I told you, upon the neck of their late ill success in *Germany*, no wonder if they were not a little startled thereat, since they now began to fear no less than a most powerful irruption into the *Spanish Netherlands*, which, if effected, would infallibly be follow'd by the Conquest of *Louvain*, *Brussels*, *Antwerp*, *Bruges*, and in short, by all the places they were possess'd of in those Parts, there being scarce any of them in a Condition to resist (for any considerable time) so potent and victorious an Army. The Duke of *Marlborough* being not ignorant of this advantage, and knowing that the only obstacle which stood in his way to accomplish so great a Work, was the River *Dyle*, it was resolv'd in a Council of War to attempt its Passage betwixt *Lovain* and the Village of *Neder Ysbe*, where they had Advice, that the Passes were but indifferently guarded; Accordingly a considerable Body of Horse and Foot being detach'd for that purpose in the Night time, and followed by the whole Army, they began to lay their Bridges in two several places by Day break, and about 1600 Men, most Granadeers and Fusileers, having pass'd the River without any considerable resistance from the *French* that guarded the Pass, began to entrench themselves on the opposite side, in expectation of being soon supported by their whole Army. The same was scarce come to the River, when at the same time the *French* Army (who having got timely intelligence of the Motions of the Confederates, had begun their March also about Midnight)

Midnight) appear'd in sight, and advancing to the River with all possible haste, posted themselves on the rising Grounds: The Confederate Generals seeing themselves thus prevented by the vigilancy of the Enemy, it was thought most convenient, immediately to order their Troops on the other side of the *Dyle*, to repass that River, which they effected successfully without any considerable loss, they having scarce a hundred Men kill'd and wounded upon this occasion, whereas the *French* during the Action, suffer'd not a little from the Enemies Cannon planted on two Batteries on the opposite side of the River.

It was immediately after, that a Body of *Dutch* Troops drawn together in *Flanders* (in order to give a diversion to the *French* and *Spaniards* on that side) successfully broke through their Lines, and passing the Canal betwixt *Ghent* and *Bruges*, exacted heavy Contributions, and upon the approach of a strong Body drawn out of the Neighbouring Garrisons, retreated in good Order without receiving the least Damage. This Exploit, which at another time would have made no small noise in *France*, was scarce talk'd of at Court at this Conjunction, when seeing themselves relieved from the fear of the Confederate Armies passing the *Dyle*, they were not backward of magnifying this Action to their advantage, together with the Prudence and Conduct of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Marshal of *Villeroy*, as also the good Condition of their Troops in the *Netherlands*, which was given out to be such, as not in the least to fear all the Efforts could be made against them by the Confederate Army, tho' in effect they dreaded them more than the rest of the whole Power of the Allies.

For it is to be observ'd, That since the unexpected March of the Duke of *Marlborough* to the *Danube*, the ensuing Battle of *Hochster*, and his late Attempt upon the *Moselle*, the French Court became more and more sensible of the Zeal, wherewith *England* and *Holland* espoused the Common Cause, in order to obtain the great End of this War, which was to restore the true Ballance of *Europe*, by fixing the Spanish Dominions in the House of *Austria*: As they were farther convinced of this Truth by their forcing of the Lines, not many Weeks before, and divers other Exploits, that they had learned the Art of Secresy beyond what ever could be expected from a Free Government, where commonly their Designs pass through many hands; so they had

had been taught by woful Experience, that in the Person of the Duke of *Marlborough* (who commanded the Confederate Army in the *Netherlands* in chief,) they had met with a General, who instead of prolonging the War, (as is too frequently practised) let not slip the least Opportunity of reducing his Enemy to such a Condition, as to render him desirous of such a Peace, as might absolutely answer the End of the Grand Alliance.

Aug. 16. It was not long before the French Court had more reason than ever to be convinced of this Truth: For the said Duke having found means to pass the River *Dyle*, and the Rivulet call'd the *Lane*, had in concert with Monsieur *de Overkirk*, who commanded the Dutch Army, resolved to attack the French Army under the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Marshal *de Villeroy*, most advantageously encamp'd behind the River *Ishe*, with the Wood of *Soignes* on their Right, and the *Dyle* on their Left. But, as so great a Design could not be put in Execution without being communicated to the three Field-Deputies of the States General, who always follow the Camp during the Campaign, and these being unwilling to rely upon their own Judgment in a matter of so high a Nature, thought fit to ask the Advice of all the Dutch Generals: These were unanimously of Opinion, that by reason not only of the advantageous Situation of the Enemies Camp, with the River *Ishe* in Front, and the Wood of *Soignes* on the Right, but also of the difficult Passage of the Avenues leading unto it, (being full of Hedges and Shrubs, and for the most part fortify'd by Intrenchments) the attacking of them at this time would be subject to many Hazards, especially since they found themselves disappointed in their Design of attacking the Flank of the Enemies right Wing, through the Wood of *Soignes*. For, though some Squadrons of Spanish Dragoons, with some Battalions of Foot, posted in that Wood, had been chased thence with good success, yet they being provided with several Entrenchments, and having cut down a great number of Trees, to render the Roads unpassable, the English Troops order'd that way, found it impracticable to penetrate through the said Wood. The Dutch Field Deputies at that time were Monsieur *Romenvort Van Heepskerk*, and *Van Schagen*, who inclining to the less hazardous side, and consequently rather to follow the Opinion of their own Generals than that of the Duke of *Marlborough*,

borough, and their own Field Marshal Monsieur *d'Overkerk*, could not be induc'd to give their Consent, to the intended attacking of the *French* in their Camp, so that the whole Design was laid aside, to the great regret of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who did declare openly, that the fairest Opportunity of giving another fatal Blow to *France*, was wrested out of his Hands, by the over-cautioufness of the *Dutch* Deputies, and their Generals.

Various were the Opinions of the most able Politicians among us upon this important Point, some siding with the *Dutch*, others with the Duke of *Marlborough*. Those that were for the first, alledg'd, that the *Hollanders* being more nearly concern'd than the rest in the Matter, by reason of the Vicinity of their Frontiers, which must needs be exposed to great Danger, in case any sinister Accident should have befallen their Army, they were not to be blamed if they acted with the utmost Caution, in an Affair of such Consequence; besides that, the Affairs of the Confederacy being then in a prosperous State, there was but little occasion to hazard their Army upon odds against a potent Enemy. On the other hand, such as were for the Duke of *Marlborough*, applauded his Conduct and Resolution, and blamed the over-cautioufness of the *Dutch*, since scarce ever any great Actions were either undertaken or accomplish'd without considerable hazards and great Obstacles: These, said they, tho' they might be none of the least, yet they would scarce have prov'd insurmountable, to those Troops who had surmounted the same Difficulties at the *Schellenberg* and at *Bleinheim*, and that not without some disadvantage in reference to their Number, whereas at that time they had the superiority (in that respect) of the Enemy in the *Netherlands*. They extoll'd the Stedfastness and Faithfulness of the said Duke, to the common Cause of the Confederacy, since by giving another Blow to the *French* (which must unavoidably have been follow'd by the loss of the best part of the *Spanish Netherlands*) he would have prepar'd the way to a sudden and glorious Peace.

But whatever might be the Sentiments of unbiass'd Persons, upon a Matter whereof they judg'd more by guess than knowledge; the *French* Court, who were more nearly concerned in this Point, were sure not to be backward to improve

this opportunity to their advantage, by endeavouring to sow the Seeds of Division; or at least to create some Jealousie betwixt the *English* and *Dutch*; For this end, their Emissaries in *England* (who as I told you before, are ready at all times to serve them at a very easie Rate,) were charged to exaggerate the Affront put upon the Duke of *Marlborough* by the Field-Deputies of the *States General*, a sort of People altogether unacquainted in the Feats of Arms, whose chief Aim being Self-interest, were rather for Protracting than for Finishing the War, since by the vast Sums of Money transmitted thither yearly out of *England* for the Payment of their Troops, and divers other Advantages they had got over them by way of Traffick, they were rather Gainers than Losers by the War, and enrich'd themselves at the Expence of the *English*. They did not forget (as I understood since) upon this Occasion, to insinuate into their Country-men, that the Affront put upon the Duke being too gross to be digested, there was not the least doubt, but that he would resent it, at least thus far, as not to act for the future in Conjunction with them, but to command the Forces in the *English* Pay separately from theirs: In effect, as the French Court were sufficiently sensible of the Benefit they might reap from such a Separation; so they left no Stone unturn'd to obtain their Aim in this Point.

It was upon this Score, I mean in order to widen this Breach, that it was most industriously spread throughout the United Provinces, that the Complaints made by the Duke of *Marlborough*, in the Postscript of his Letter sent to the *States General*, tending to no less than the Pretension of an absolute sway, without Controul, in the Army; they would in a little time see themselves reduced to a Necessity either of submitting to his Pleasure, or else of seeing themselves deprived (at least in a great Measure) of the Assistance of the *English*; Since it was more than probable that the Duke, who had so great an Influence upon the Councils of the *English* Court, would not pass by such an Affront, without revenging himself upon those that were the Authors of it. Nay, they proceeded much further in this Point, divers Pamphlets being spread abroad, that the Duke aim'd at no less than the Stadtholdership of *Holland*, that he had neglected the Opportunity of preventing the *French*, in possessing himself of the Camp of *Park*, immediately after the forcing of the Lines, with several other

Reflections

Reflections of this Nature, such as they judged most suitable to answer their End, which was to create a Jealousie in a People, who, as they had always been tenacious of their Liberty, so, the better to secure it, had, since the Death of King *William III.* quite abolish'd that Dignity in their Common-wealth, notwithstanding some of their Neighbouring Princes, whose Friendship they stood in need of, seem'd to court them upon that account, and that they were not insensible of certain inconveniencies which of necessity must attend this remarkable alteration, in the Original Constitution of their Government. But after all their endeavours to embroil these two Nations, they had the mortification to see themselves once more quite deceived in their hopes, by the singular Prudence of the States General, and the great Moderation of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who having receiv'd the desir'd satisfaction upon this Head, from the States, concluded the Campaign with levelling the *French* Lines, and with the taking of *S. Lewe*, and of *Santoliet*.

The *French* being convinc'd by woful Experience, that notwithstanding the great Advantages they seem'd to have over the Confederates at the beginning of the War, these had gain'd Ground upon them every Campaign, and consequently foreseeing that they were not likely to maintain themselves entirely in the *Spanish* Dominions, began to make certain Propositions of Peace, which they pretended to obtain by a Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy. As they had been tampering with the Pope a considerable time before, about a Neutrality in *Italy*, so it was now to him, they made their first Application for a Mediator; but the Differences arose betwixt that Court and the Emperor, having rendred his Holiness altogether incapable of the Quality of a Mediator in respect to the Confederated *Roman Catholick* Princes, and the Protestants being not likely to embrace his Mediation upon a double score (I mean as well in reference of his partiality as a Religious Account) the *French* Courts, had recourse to their old Friends the *Swiss* Cantons. Unto these they represented the Glory and Advantage they might reap from such a Mediation, by restoring Peace and Tranquility to *Europe*. Some among them whose inclinations were for *France*, were so far beguiled by this specious Bait, that they not only promis'd their Endeavours, but also at the same time solicited the rest to concur with them in the proposed Mediation. But the better and wiser part of the

Cantons, being sensible, that a Treaty of Partition would at this Conjunction scarce meet with a favourable acceptance from the Confederacy, who they very well knew aim'd at no less than the settling of King *Charles* III. on the *Spanish* Throne, and all its Dominions, they wisely consider'd, that there was but little prospect either of Glory or Advantage to be reap'd by this Mediation, and that consequently they ought not to charge themselves with a Burthen, which would prove too heavy for their Shoulders.

Notwithstanding these Repulses, the French Court being resolved to leave nothing unattempted in this Point, thought it expedient to feel the Pulse of the *Hollanders*, with an Intention either to dive into their real Sentiments in reference to a Peace; or at least, to create some Jealousies betwixt them and the rest of the Confederacy, as if they were making some Steps towards a Separate Peace. It must be confess'd, to the eternal Honour of the *French*, that as they are never sparing in supplying their Ministers abroad, with whatever may be requisite to maintain both their Character and Intelligence, so generally they employ Persons qualify'd in all respects for those Purposes they are sent for: But at the same time it is undeniable, that at this Juncture they sent upon so nice and weighty an Errand, a Person, who, in my Judgment, had the least Pretension to it in the World; whether it were, that they were under a Necessity of employing any one (without any further regard to his Qualifications) that could obtain a Pass from the States of *Holland*, or for some other secret Reasons I will not pretend to determine. However as I know the Person by sight, and have his Character from unquestionable hands, and had some little Acquaintance with his Father a considerable time ago in *Holland*, I can't forbear to give you a rough Draught of a Person employ'd by the French Court upon so weighty a Business.

His Name was *Helvetius*; he is the Son of an Emperick in *Holland*, of a very mean Extraction, who having spent his younger Days in drudging in a *Chymical Laboratory*, and by that means obtained some general Knowledge of that Art, came above 40 Years ago into *Holland*, at which time Chymistry being not so generally practis'd in those Parts as now-a-days; He by his noble Confidence and volubility of Tongue, gain'd

gain'd such an Ascendent over the unexperienced Multitude, as in a little time to become Famous among them, (especially for the Cure of the Venereal Disease) under the Title of the *German Doctor*, his real Name being unknown to this day, since that of *Helvetius* he assumed from the Place of his Nativity, (he being a *Swiss*) judging that a Latin Name might serve as a main Ingredient to help to raise his Reputation, though himself scarce understood one word of *Latin* besides his Name. A younger Son of this Doctor or Empirick, what you please to call him, inheriting most of the Qualities of his Father, went before he was Twenty Years of Age, (after having scarce pass'd the School-Learning) into *France*, where following his Father's Method and Footsteps, he first gain'd some Repute among the Foreigners afterwards in the City of *Paris*, and at last I think was introduced to *Madam Maintenon*, by whose Recommendation he was judg'd a proper Subject to manage so important an Affair. As he had divers near Relations living in *Holland*, he without much difficulty obtain'd a Pass from the *States General*, under Pretence of giving a Visit to his Relations; which he did accordingly in company of a French Gentleman, who having been formerly employ'd in the Quality of a Secretary in Foreign Affairs, was thought fit to be joyn'd with *Helvetius*, of whose Abilities in a Matter of this Nature, and of such Consequence, they could not but entertain a very indifferent Opinion, though as the Case now stood, they saw themselves obliged to leave the chief Management of the whole to his Conduct.

The Event proved answerable to the Qualifications of the Person who was entrusted with it; For though he did not want Assurance to propose the Matter to Monsieur *Odyck*, (lately deceased) and some others at the *Hague*, and to pretend to dive into the Secret Sentiments of the Leading Men in the Government of the *United Provinces*; yet he could obtain no other Answer, Than that the *States General* having engaged with their Allies in this War, in order to restore the Ballance of *Europe*, and check the exorbitant Power of *France*, by fixing the Crown of *Spain*, with all its Dependencies and Dominions, on the Head of King *Charles III.* the younger Brother of his present Imperial Majesty *Joseph I.* they could nor would hearken to any Propositions, but what entirely and absolutely tended to answer that end, and that even then they were resolved

solved not to enter into any Treaty without the Knowledge and full Approbation of all their respective Allies. It is no difficult Task to imagine, how pleasing this Answer was to the French Court, after having thus discovered their Weakness: However, they had the Satisfaction to see in some measure the Effects of this Message, which was to raise a Jealousie betwixt the Allies; For, though the *States General* declared against these Propositions, yet the said *Helvetius* tarrying for some time after in *Holland* (because the time limited in his Pass was not expired) certain Powers that were Members of the Confederacy, conceived a Mistrust, and could not forbear to discover their Satisfaction upon this account, till *Helvetius* being ordered to depart the Dominions of the *United Provinces*, the whole Matter drop'd without any further ill Consequences.

During these Transactions in the *Netherlands*, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* having received his Commission of General of the Army of the Empire, from the new Emperor, left his Bed-Chamber at *Rastadt* (where he had been indisposed for several Months before) and arrived in the Camp at *Stolhoven*, where in a few days after it being resolved in a Council of War, to attack the Marshal *de Villars* in his advantageous Camp at the *Rincherloch* on this side of the *Rhine*; they directed their march thither accordingly: But the Marshal *de Villars* mistrusting his new levied Troops (though not much inferior in number to those of the Empire) thought fit to quit that Post, and retire under the Fort of *Kiehl*, where in a few days after he repass'd the *Rhine*, as Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* did soon after, having left a sufficient number of his Forces on the other side the River, for a Guard of the Lines of *Stolhoven*. Immediately after Prince *Lewis* having taken a narrow View of the French Lines near *Pfaffenhoven*, it was resolved to attack the same in three several Places, and the Design executed with so much Conduct and Secrecy, that they penetrated into these Lines with the Loss only of 17 or 18 Men. The Marshal *de Villars* made a shew, as if he intended to force them thence again, and detach'd 14 or 15 Squadrons to attack the Count *de Mercy*, who had with the Body under his command entred the Lines near *Pfaffenhoven*, but seeing the whole Imperial Army advancing that way, in order to support him, he retreated without any further delay to *Haguenau*.
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His stay under this place, was not above two days Continuance; For Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* decamping with his whole Army, with an Intention to draw the *French* either into a Battle, or else directly to march towards *Strasburg*, the Marshal *de Villars*, not daring to hazard a Battle, was under a necessity of securing timely his retreat from *Hagenau* to the City of *Strasburg*; the Imperial Army being now much superior in number to his, by their late Conjunction with 8000 or 9000 *Prussians*.

By this Retreat, *Drusenheim*, *Hagenau*, and *Fort-Lewis*, with Sept. 13. all the circumjacent Redoubts, and other Towns; being now exposed to the Insults of the Imperialists, they immediately laid Siege to the first of these Places, which having a Garrison only of 300 Men, was forced to surrender in eight days at Discretion. *Hagenau*, being a Place of considerable Extent, and fortify'd with vast Charge by the *French*, it was supposed Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* would meet with a vigorous Opposition here, especially since the Marshal *de Villars*, during his stay under the Cannon of it, had had sufficient opportunity of providing it with a numerous Garrison, and all other Necessaries for a brave Defence. But that General being sensible of his Weakness and Inability of relieving the Place at that Juncture, and that consequently it must of necessity fall into the hands of the Enemy, had taken quite different Measures; judging it more suitable to his present Condition, to leave only a Garrison of 15 or 1600 Men there, than to expose a greater number to the hazard of being made Prisoners of War. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* being soon informed of the present Condition of the Place, thought a moderate Detachment under General *Thungen* sufficient to reduce it. The Besieged defended themselves for five or six days, but then beat a Parley, offering to surrender upon honourable Terms; but being told they must expect no other than being made Prisoners of War, they took a Resolution not unworthy to be transmitted to Posterity. They had observed that on one side the Place was either not invested, or at least but slenderly guarded, so taking hold of this Opportunity, they march'd out in the Night-time, and being resolved to fight their way through all that should oppose them, they had the good Fortune to retire to their Army without any Opposition, they being not perceived by the Enemy, till it was too late to pursue them.

As by the taking of *Drusenheim*, the Imperialists had secured all the Redoubts upon the *Rhine* abandon'd by the *French*, but especially their Bridge over that River, so by the taking of *Hagenau*, they being enabled to take their Winter Quarters on the other side of the *Rhine*, they did not think fit to lay a formal Siege to the strong Fortrefs of *Fort-Lewis* at this Season, being sufficiently convinced that their Forces might be so disposed during this Winter, as to reduce the Place by Famine. A Project was also set on foot to retake *Homburg* before the conclusion of the Campaign; but whilst they were contesting about what Forces should or ought to be most conveniently employ'd in that Enterprize, the Season advancing a-pace, and being attended with very bad Weather, this Design was laid aside till the next Campaign. However as the *Germans* were but so lately convinced of the signal Inconveniencies and Dangers, that were the necessary Consequences of the long Marches to and from their Winter Quarters of the more remote Circles of *Germany*, they prevail'd (chiefly by the Mediation of *England* and *Holland*,) with most of the Princes, to permit their respective Troops to take their Winter Quarters near the *Upper Rhine*, a good Body of *Lunenburgers* in the Service of *England* and *Holland*, being also about the same time ordered that way, to quarter in the adjacent Parts: This produced a double good Effect; first to keep *Fort-Lewis* block'd up in such a manner, that in all probability it may fall into the Hands of the Confederates before Spring. And 2dly, to have these Troops at hand, to act with more hopes of Success than before, when half the time that ought to have been spent in the Field, used to be trifled away in long and tedious Marches.

'Tis now time we take a Turn likewise to *Italy*, to see whether the *French* succeeded better there than in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*: Their Aim on that side being no less than the entire Reduction of the Duke of *Savoy*, they look'd upon it as almost Infallible after the taking of *Verue*, in case they could prevent the Conjunction of the Imperial Army in *Italy*, to be commanded by that great General Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with the Duke of *Savoy*. *Mirandola* being the only Place as yet remaining in the Hands of the Imperialists, which might facilitate their Passage through the *Man-tuan* into *Piemont*, the *French* had kept it straitly block'd up during

during the Winter, but finding the Garrison resolute to abide the utmost Extremity in hopes of timely Relief, the *French* besieged it in form, before the Imperialists could be in a Condition to attempt it with any Prospect of Success. 'Tis true, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* hastned upon the News thereof, with all possible speed, his Journey into *Italy*, in hopes to find the Troops he was to command in such a forwardness, as to be able to succour a Place, the Loss whereof they were sensible they must feel to their Cost during the rest of the Campaign; But great part of the Troops design'd for the Expedition in *Italy*, being not yet arriv'd, and the rest either not in a Condition, or at least not strong enough to act, and relieve the Place, against an Enemy much superior in Number to them, he was to his great regret, obliged to be a Spectator of a Loss, which he foresaw would be irreparable to them in this Campaign, after having done all what could be expected from a most consummated General; For finding the Enemy ready to receive him on the opposite side of the *Mincio*, was forced to give over his Design of passing that River in sight of them. The Surrender of *Mirandola*, which was the immediate Consequence of this Disappointment, having obliged that Prince to alter his Measures, he transported his Foot into the *Brescian* by the way of the Lake *de la Guarda*, and ordering his Horse to march round the Lake to rejoin his Foot, the *French*, commanded by the Grand Prior of *France*, the Duke of *Vendosme's* Brother, made a Feint as if they intended to attack them, before the Horse could come up with him; but finding him too strongly posted, did not think fit to put it in Execution, contenting themselves to coop him up among the Mountains, and with preventing his passage to the River *Oglio*. Whilst they were flattering themselves with these Hopes, Prince *Eugene* found means, with incredible Labour and Diligence, to open himself a way through the Mountains to the said River, by causing whole Woods of Shrubs and Trees to be cut down, and unexpectedly to get the Start of the *French*, who were not a little surprized when they received the News of the Attacking and Taking of *Soncino* (upon the *Oglio*) by the said Prince, whereby (besides the Advantage of a great Magazine of Provisions laid up there for the use of the French Army) seeing himself Master of all the most considerable Posts upon that River, he made a Feint of marching into the *Mantuan*. The *French* being under this uncertainty, whether his real Inten-

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tions were against the *Mantuan* or the *Milaneze*, it was resolved in a Conference betwixt the Grand Prior and his Brother the Duke of *Vendosme*, to march to *Romanengo*, as the most convenient Post, to watch narrowly all the Motions of the Imperialists; but finding themselves prevented by this vigilant General, they encamp'd within two Leagues of him in an advantageous Post, and at the same time being obliged to send a strong Detachment to *Ustiano*, to secure their Communication with the *Mantuan*, they were forced to supply the Defect of that Detachment, by another made from the Army under the Duke of *la Feuillade*, then employ'd in the Siege of *Chivas*, whereby the Duke of *Savoy* did receive the first glimpse of hopes that Prince *Eugene* would give so powerful a Diversion to the *French*, as to make them lay aside the intended Siege of *Turin*; which proved true in the Event.

Aug. 10.

For Prince *Eugene* losing no Opportunity of advancing into the *Milaneze*, march'd from *Romanengo* towards *Canceso* and *Tresò*, with an Intention to pass the *Adda* betwixt these two places, but meeting with some unforeseen Obstacles which hindred his passage there, he ordered a strong Detachment to secure it over the River near *Paradiso*; but finding himself also disappointed in that place, he left nevertheless a strong Body there to amuse the Enemy, whilst he with the rest advanced to *Treviglio*. Here the Prince having received certain Intelligence, that the Grand Prior, with the greatest part of the *French* Army, lay encamped on this side of the *Adda*, over against *Cassano*, whilst the Duke of *Vendosme* remain'd with the rest of the Army on the opposite side, to observe the Motions, and dispute the passing of that River with the Imperialists, he resolved to attack immediately the first, notwithstanding the advantageous Situation of his Camp, betwixt the *Adda* and two Canals. Accordingly the Imperial Army advancing to the Enemy about Noon, charged them so furiously on the first Canal called *Ritorto*, that they were forced to quit their Bridge and Entrenchments that covered it, in great Disorder; The Imperialists pursuing their Advantage, some pass'd the Canal over the Bridge, whilst the rest waded up to the Arm-pits through the Water: It happen'd very opportunely for the *French*, that when about six Imperial and Prussian Regiments had pass'd the Canal, they received a Reinforcement of several Regiments of Dragoons, from the Duke

Aug. 16.

Duke of *Vendosme* ; these fresh Supplies encountering the before-said Regiments, whose Arms and Ammunition were for the most part wet, obliged them to repass the said Bridge ; However these soon rallying again, and being supported by fresh Troops, drove the *French* from the Bridge a second time, pass'd the Canal once more, and charg'd the Left Wing of the *French* so vigorously, that they retired in great Confusion to the Bridge of *Cassano*, to shelter themselves against the pursuing Enemy on the other side of the *Adda* ; but this Bridge being not spacious enough to contain so great a Number as were thronging to get over, many of the *French* were drowned in that River, before the Dragoons, who had quitted their Horses, could reach the Works that covered that Bridge on this side of the *Adda*, in order to stop, in some measure, the Pursuit of the Imperial Troops. The Right Wing of the *French* having another and much deeper Canal in Front, it was impossible for the Imperialists to come to handy-blows with them, and the Vicinity of their Works at the Head of the Bridge of *Cassano* not permitting Prince *Eugene* to pitch his Tents within the reach of the Enemies Cannon, he march'd back to *Treviglio*, where he proclaim'd his Victory by such publick Rejoycings as are usual upon suchlike Occasions.

But if the Imperialists had reason to rejoyce at a Victory which proved so advantageous in the Event to their Affairs in *Italy*, the French Court were never more forward than now to challenge the Honour of the Day, to extol the Conduct of the Duke of *Vendosme*, and magnifie the loss of the Enemy upon this occasion. I remember very well, that most of the Foreigners then residing at *Paris*, who had a more impartial Account of Matters, than what the Court thought fit to publish, were sufficiently convinced, that since it was undeniable, that the Left Wing of the *French* had been forced twice from so advantageous a Post, and chased over the *Adda*, they had no other reason to rejoyce upon this Occasion, than their having escaped a total Rout. Notwithstanding this, scarce any thing else was talk'd of at Court for some time, but the chasing of the Imperialists over the *Oglio*, and thence into the *Trentin*. If that Maxim holds true, that the Event of a Battle is most properly judged by its Consequences, we had all the reason to be surprized, when not long after, when we expected every day to hear the Effects of these great Designs, we under-

stood, that not only Prince *Eugene* remained undisturbed at his Camp of *Treviglio*, but that the French and Spanish Army was not in a Condition to maintain the Passages of the *Adda*, without a Reinforcement of several thousand Men sent them from the Camp of the Duke *de la Feuillade*, who had in the mean time been employ'd in the Siege of *Chivas*. By making due Reflections upon these Matters, which could not be conceal'd by the Court, we were fully convinced of what we had received Intelligence before from our Correspondents in those Parts, that instead of 10 or 12000 Men, which the *French* gave out had been slain and wounded on the side of the Imperialists, their loss did not amount to 2500 besides the wounded, whereas the *French* had above double that Number slain upon the Spot, many drown'd in the *Adda*, and of wounded Men in proportion to their slain.

It must be remembred to the eternal Honour of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, whose Genius seems to be framed for difficult and great Enterprizes, that with an inferior Force he not only passed the *Adige* and *Oglio*, and penetrated to the *Adda*, in sight of his Enemies, but also by this glorious and most seasonable Battle, broke all the French Measures on that side at one Blow, which actually prevented the Siege of *Turin*, and consequently the intended Reduction of the Duke of *Savoy*, which by a modest Computation had within two Years cost the *French* above 60000 Men, and many Millions of Money: For it is to be observed, that *Chivas* being the only Place now left in the Hands of the Duke of *Savoy*, after the taking of *Verue* by the *French*, which could stop their march to *Turin*, the said Duke, the better to cover his Capital City and Residence, had left nothing unattempted to prepare for its Defence, by fortifying not only the Place it self, but also the Hills, Castles, and other Avenues leading unto it, wherein he had posted most of his Foot, to dispute every Inch of Ground with the Enemy, in hopes that in the mean while Prince *Eugene* would penetrate into the *Milaneze*, and thereby oblige the Duke *de la Feuillade* to quit *Piemont*. The French Court were not ignorant what Difficulties they were likely to encounter with in the taking of that Place; but as the so much desired Reduction of the Duke of *Savoy*, seem'd to appear now to depend on the Siege of *Turin*, which could not be undertaken before they were Masters of *Chivas*, it was resolv'd to besiege and
attack

attack it with all imaginable Vigour ; But met with a most brave Opposition, because the Duke of *Savoy* having the Advantage of a Bridge of Communication with the Place, in the same manner as he had at *Verue*, he continually supply'd the Garrison with fresh Men, and all other Necessaries for a long Defence. The *French* endeavour'd to interrupt this Communication, by making a vigorous Attack upon the Works that cover'd it, but being repuls'd, and dreading the Fate of so tedious and bloody a Siege, (the Effects whereof they had felt to their Cost at *Verue*) it was resolv'd in a Council of War to attempt the dislodging of the Duke of *Savoy* from his Camp. Accordingly a small Body under Monsieur de *la Paras* being left before *Chivas*, the Duke de *la Feuillade* with the whole Army, advanced to the Duke of *Savoy's* Camp, who seeing himself over-match'd in Numbers, retreated in time over the *Stura*, though not without suffering some loss in his Rear ; By his Retreat towards *Turin*, the Garrison of *Chivas* being left destitute of all hopes of Relief, he order'd them to quit the Place, Aug. 28. which they did accordingly.

After the Reduction of *Chivas*, you might have heard them talk scarce of any thing else at Court, but the Siege of *Turin*, notwithstanding the two strong Detachments sent from that Army, first during the Siege of *Chivas* under the Duke of *Vendosme*, and another after its Surrender since the Battle of *Cassano* into the *Milaneze*. As the *French* as well as others who had any real Insight into the Matter, were sensible that the same could not be so much as supposed, much less be undertaken, without very considerable Supplies of Men from other Parts ; so they did not neglect to improve this Interval of time, (whilst some of their best Regiments were order'd and actually on their march from the *Upper Rhine* for *Italy*,) to endeavour either to frighten or to cajole the Duke of *Savoy* into a Compliance with their Demands ; but finding his Constancy and Prudence to remain unshaken in spite of all their Threats and Promises, they had recourse to other Artifices, viz. to publish to the World, that there being an underhand Treaty on foot betwixt them and the Court of *Savoy*, their King had thought fit to allot a certain Time for that Prince to consider his true Interest, and to embrace his Majesty's Offers. The better to make this pass for a Truth among the rest of his Allies, (in hopes thereby to slacken their Preparations for his effectual

effectual Relief) and insinuate to the World, as if that Prince had made some steps towards an Accommodation with *France*, the Duke *de la Feuillade*, who was then advanced as far as the *La Venerie*, a most sumptuous Palace of the Duke of *Savoy's*, at no great distance from *Turin*, kept a most strict Discipline among his Soldiers, not suffering the least Damage to be done either to the Gardens or the Structure it self. But whilst they were amusing the World with these pretended Projects, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* having received some Recruits from the *Trentin*, did so harass by his frequent Marches and Countermarches the Army under the Duke of *Vendosme*, near the *Adda*, that he fearing to be surprized by that Great Warrior, whom he durst not Encounter a second time without a considerable Superiority of his Forces, solicited for some further Reinforcements, which being at that pressing Conjuncture not to be had any where else but from *Piedmont*, the Army under the Duke *de la Feuillade* was thereby reduced to so small a Number, as bore but a slender Proportion to so great an Enterprize as the Siege of *Turin*. Notwithstanding all this, when it was least expected, the Discourse of the Siege of *Turin* was reviv'd at Court, and in effect the Duke *de la Feuillade* made not only great Preparations, but also raised some Batteries against some advanced Works; but before the great Artillery arrived from *Casals*, the French Court perceiving the Duke to persevere in his former Resolution, notwithstanding all their Menaces, Orders were sent to desist from that Enterprize. Prince *Eugene* having thus effected his main Design of diverting the Enemy from the Siege of *Turin*, and finding it impossible to subsist with his Army during the Winter betwixt the *Oglio* and the *Adda*, repass'd the first of these Rivers, and canton'd his Troops in the *Brescian*, under the Venetian Territories.

It will perhaps seem somewhat surprizing to those that are not well acquainted with the French Stratagems, what could move that Court to impose upon the World an imaginary Victory, and the intended Project of the Siege of *Turin*, when a little time must of necessity unfold the Vanity of these Designs: But it ought to be taken notice of upon this Occasion, that if ever that Court had reason to conceal their Loss, and magnifie their Strength, it was certainly at this Conjuncture, when the Embarkment of *Charles III.* King of *Spain* at *Lisbon* aboard the Confederate Fleet, leaving no further room for
them

them to doubt, but that this Expedition being intended against
 some part or other of the Spanish Coast, and themselves not
 in a Condition to send them any seasonable Relief, they must
 look upon this as the best Expedient, to raise the drooping
 Spirits of those that were in their Interest in those parts, and
 to overawe the rest of the *Spaniards* from siding with the New
 King. For you must know that the *French* relying upon their
 Interest they at least supposed they had among some of the
 Court of *Portugal*, and the Divisions raised and fomented among
 the Generals, flattered themselves with certain hopes, that
 nothing of Moment would be undertaken on these Frontiers
 this Campaign; but finding, contrary to their Expectation,
 the *Portuguese* to penetrate into the Province of *Alentejo*, and
 after the taking of several considerable Places, to threaten *Ba-
 dajos* with a Siege; and at the same time the new King
Charles III. embarking aboard the Combined English and Dutch
 Ships with 10000 chosen Land-men, the French Court were
 under no small Distraction, which way to turn those small Re-
 mainders of their Forces in *Spain*, the Spanish Infantry being
 totally ruin'd during the Siege of *Gibraltar*. Nothing could at
 this Juncture have stood them in greater stead than a good
 Fleet, the Equipment whereof being earnestly urged by the
 Spanish Court for the Defence of their Coast, great Prepara-
 tions were made accordingly at *Thoulon*, *Brest*, and in some
 other Harbours of *France*, for the putting to Sea so formidable
 a Fleet, as might be in a Condition to dispute the present
 Dominion of the Mediterranean with the Confederated Fleet;
 But their coming so early with the Grand Fleet to the River
 of *Lisbon* (whilst another Squadron kept block'd up the French
 Ships in the Harbour of *Brest*,) they were forced to lay aside
 all Thoughts of facing the Confederates in the Mediterranean
 this Year; and what was much worse, saw themselves under a
 Necessity of expecting with Patience, which way the approaching
 Storm (which they were not able to divert) would fall. This
 proved to be on the Coast of *Catalonia*, where the City of *Vich*,
 with some other Places, declar'd for King *Charles III.* and the
 Confederate Fleet looking upon this as a Signal given them by
 Providence, whither to steer their Course, they accordingly
 landed about 10000 well disciplin'd *English* and *Dutch* Land-
 Forces, within three Miles of *Barcelona* (the Capital City of
Catalonia) near the River *Bassez* running on the East side of it,
 without the least Opposition, in order to reduce that City.
 But

But considering the Extent of the Place, and its Fortifications consisting of 10 Bastions, besides many old Towers, and that those that had declar'd for the House of *Austria* were as yet not near so numerous as was expected, the carrying on of that Siege remain'd in suspense for some days, it being propos'd by some to move to some other Place of less Strength upon the Sea Coast, whilst the Fleet should follow that way by Sea to second their Endeavours. But the Prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Inclinations and Genius of that Nation, which always proceeds with the utmost Caution and Security, being sensible that the whole Success of this Enterprize depended on the Success and Reputation of their Arms, by the taking of *Barcelona*, urg'd that Siege with great Vehemency. To facilitate the same, he propos'd the Surprizing of the Fort or Citadel of *Montjuich*, which being seated on an Eminency on the West side of the City, commands the greatest part of it; besides that on that side the Ditch was not very deep, and the cover'd way not quite perfected. This Design, though it seem'd subject to no small Difficulties, not only by reason of its Fortifications and Situation, but also by its distance from the Confederate Camp, and the almost impassable Ways they were to surmount, before they could come at it; yet the Generals, relying chiefly upon the Conduct, Bravery, and Knowledge of the Prince of *Hesse*, 1000 chosen Men were appointed for that purpose, headed by the said Prince himself, 1000 more being to support them. They began their March in the Night, in hopes to surprize the Outworks before day-break; but notwithstanding the Badness of the Ways had much retarded their March, and that they met after day-break with a Body of the Enemy, who gave the Alarm to those in the Fort, they attack'd the Outworks with Sword in Hand, pass'd the cover'd Way and the Ditch, and gain'd one of the Bulworks of the new Fortifications that surrounded the Body of the old Castle. Here it was that the brave Prince of *Hesse*, whilst he was pushing forward through the midst of the Enemies Fire, to possess himself of some Works, by which they might receive further Supplies from the City, was mortally wounded in the Thigh by a Musquet-Ball, which having cut asunder an Artery, and consequently caused a great Effusion of Blood, he persisted nevertheless in leading on and animating his Soldiers, till about 50 Paces from the place where he was first wounded, he

Sept. 14.

he drop'd down dead, and fell like a Hero in the midst of his Enemies.

It is easie to be conceived, that the Fall of so great a Man, who had acquired so great a Reputation among the *English* and *Dutch*, as well as among the *Catalans*, must needs strike a great Terror among them, so they began now to give way, and to abandon the Posts they had gain'd but just before, till the Earl of *Peterborough* (who commanded the *English* in Chief) being inform'd of this Disaster, hast'ned thither, and by his Presence animating the Souldiers, they renew'd the Attack, and having made themselves Masters of all the Out-works, forced the Enemy to retreat into the *Donjeon*, or innermost old Castle; some *Castilians*, *English* and *Dutch* having taken Post on the Ditch, endeavour'd to possess themselves of the Gate, but about the same time 300 *French* Souldiers being sent from *Barcelona* to succor those in the Castle, they were surrounded and taken Prisoners, and carry'd into *Barcelona*. The communication betwixt that City and the Castle being now quite cut off, the Confederates began to Batter the last, but without any considerable Success, by reason of the thickness and Strength of the Walls: Hereupon it being resolved to ply them with all imaginable Fury with Bombs, this succeeded so well upon a Place of no great Circumference, that a Bomb happening to fall upon one of their Magazines of Powder, and thereby the Governour, a Native of *Naples* being blow'd up with several others, besides part of the Wall and the Gate, the Garrison (seeing the Besieged ready to enter the Breach) to the number of 300 surrendred Prisoners of War.

This done, the Attack was chiefly carry'd on against the body of the Place, from the beforemention'd Fort, and the Place Sept. 17
began to be Battered with great Success from 52 Pieces of great Sept. 22
Cannon, besides these made use of from several Ships against the Harbour; but notwithstanding all these efforts, the Garrison consisting of above half the number of the Besiegers, they defended themselves most valiantly for near 3 Weeks after, till a large Breach being made, and the Vice-roy *Don Francisco de Velasco* not daring to stand the brunt of an Assault, he thought fit to Capitulate upon honourable Terms: but a Body of the revolted *Catalans* eager of Revenge and Plunder, and encourag'd by a Revolt in the Place against the Vice-roy, pressing in the Breach, had questionless put him, and all such as had stilly adher'd to his Party, to the Sword, had they not been prevented by the Generosity of the Earl of *Peterborough*, who coming to

their assistance rescued the Vice-roy, and the *Duke de Popoli* a Neapolitan, from the very jaws of Death, with about 800 *Spanish* Soldiers, all the rest of the Garrison being ready to enter into the Service of King *Charles III.* By the Conquest of this important Place, with so inconsiderable a force, in proportion to the greatness of the Enterprize, the Confederates gain'd a great Reputation and additional Strength, the *Catalans*, who for the most part had hitherto lived in expectation of the issue of this Siege, began now to appear in great Numbers in the Confederate Camp, the Cities of *Gironne*, *Tertosa*, *Terragona*, *Lorida*, and in short all *Catalonia*, except *Roses*, not only declared for King *Charles III.* but those also of *Valentia* and *Arragon*, shewing the same Inclinations, they possess'd themselves of several Passes leading into those 2 Kingdoms, and in the first, made themselves Masters of the Port of *Denia*. 'Tis certain that should the Confederate Forces push on their Conquest in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, especially along that Sea Coast, and back their endeavours by a powerful Fleet, in order to prevent the *French* from sending any considerable Reinforcements into the Heart of *Spain*, the Natives of that Kingdom, who without doubt, are grown weary of the *French*, a Nation so very different from them, not only in Temper and Manners, but also in the Methods and Maxims of Government, will follow the Footsteps of the *Catalans*, and shake off the Yoak that is so burthensome to them at present.

It was the wonder of all the World, how the *French* Court should be so far mistaken in their Measures, as to leave the Coasts of *Spain* unguarded, when they had sufficient Notice of the vast Naval Preparations of the Confederates, and their Embarkment of 10000 Land Forces, especially after they had nothing to hope from their Fleet, and the Personal Appearance of King *Charles III.* in that Enterprize, put it beyond all dispute, that it was intended against that Coast; but to tell you the Truth, the *Spaniards* being a Politick Generation who have often before over-reach'd the *French* in their Politicks, play'd also a Megame all this time, by acting the Hypocrites, and giving constant assurance of their Fidelity to the *Spanish* Court. This bait so far took with the *French*, that looking upon the Revolt of the *Catalans* of *Vich* as a design only, of a tumultuary Mob, they thought they had sufficiently provided against them by the strong Garrison and a good Body of Horse put into *Barcelona*, flattering themselves at the same time, that the Confederates would scarce venture their Fleet and Land Forces, as far as to the Coast of *Catalonia*, or if they did, their Troops
would

would be so weak'ned and fatig'd by so long a Voyage, as not to be able to make any considerable Progress on that side, whilst in the mean time they hop'd to effect the intended reduction of the Duke of *Savoy*. 'Tis true the success of that Design is of the utmost Consequence to *France*, which like *Achilles's* Heel, is vulnerable only on that side, (whereas its whole Body seems to be proof against all Attempts of this Nature,) and consequently most expos'd to an Invasion, should the *Imperialists* prevail in *Italy*; no wonder therefore if they left no Stone unturn'd to provide against it, but I leave you to guess what a Mortification it must needs be to that Court, to see themselves at once disappointed in *Italy*, and in danger of having the Monarchy of *Spain* snatch'd out of their Hands. 'Tis in order to prevent this danger, that they do leave nothing unattempted at this time to send some Detachments from all Parts, towards *Roussillon*, in hopes to find out a way to break into *Catalonia*, and thereby to stop the Progress of King *Charles III.* in *Valencia* and *Arragon*, whilst another Army is to overawe the *Spaniards*, to prevent their siding with the Enemy. The better to support this Design, and to keep their Troops as near at hand as could be, to second one another, as occasion should require, it was concerted at the same time to act with the utmost Vigour in *Italy*, and for the rest to stand upon the defensive in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, where they judged it sufficient, if they could come off without any considerable Loss, provided they may gain from a defection, and compass the so much desired Union of the Duke of *Savoy*.

If one may be allow'd to make some Conjectures upon future Events, from what is pass'd; 'tis highly probable, that considering what Preparations the Allies are making to second their Successes in those Parts, where Providence has shew'd them the nearest way to put an end to this War; it seems most probable, that notwithstanding all the Efforts *France* is able to make, they will scarce be in a condition to stem the Torrent of a general defection in *Spain*, as soon as the Allies shall appear formidable enough in the Field to support the *Spaniards* in it, and that consequently they will not be able to prevent a great and general Revolution, which must needs turn the Ballance altogether on the side of the Confederates. 'Tis true, in *Italy* their Affairs seem to be fix'd upon a much firmer Basis, they having no intestine Enemy to contend with, but as the Confederates have taken effectual Measures to send a fresh Reinforcement of 10000 Men to Prince *Eugene*, and that several Imperial Regiments

are

are ready to March that way, out of *Bavaria* (the Insurrection there being look'd upon as good as suppress'd) they will be glad to be able to hinder that General from penetrating into the *Milaneze*, without concerning themselves much about the Siege of *Turin*. When I duly reflect upon the Measures taken lately in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, I am apt to believe the *French* will be highly pleas'd, if they can stop the further Progress of the Allies into their Dominions, which, considering all circumstances, they will scarce be in a condition to effect, it being next to an impossibility, they should appear with an equal Force against them on that side, whilst, if they hope for any Success in *Italy*, and *Spain*, they must appear in the Field with a force superior to the Enemy. As the Reduction of *Spain*, by the Confederates may be look'd upon as the main Stop towards a speedy Peace, so the finishing Piece might be brought about by the composition of the Troubles in *Hungary*. But if it be considered how much it is for the interest of *France*, to keep up this Insurrection, by flattering *Ragotski* with the possession of the Principality of *Transilvania*, and engaging the rest of the *Malecontent's* leaders by vast Sums of Money, and promises of other advantages, as also how far some of the Imperial Court, that are to get into Possession of the Forfeited Estates are likely to oppose this Composition, the present Treaty of *Tirnavu*, will doubtless meet with no small difficulties.

It is very strange thus much may be reasonably concluded, that it was the late over-throw of these *Malecontents* in *Transilvania*, the Pretensions of Prince *Ragotski* to that Principality are vanish'd into Smoak, the other Heads will now or never consider their own Interest, and that of their Native Country, by accepting the advantageous Terms offered them by the present Emperor. I rest,

Sir, Yours, &c.

Lately Published,

Certain Queries, sent in a Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord *H. . . . m.*, relating to several weighty Points contained in his Speech made unto the House of Peers, in this present Session of Parliament.